

SURVEY MADE OF CIVIL RIGHTS VIEWS OF ADLIA STEVENSON AND SENATOR SPARKMAN

Black Dispatch
Illinois Man Hits and Skips About In Answer
To Direct Queries on Subject

Oct. 8-9-52
ALABAMAN ALSO VERY EVASIVE

Chilchiana City, Ala.
(The Political Picture by ANP)

Now that the Democrat National Convention is history let's turn our thoughts to the candidates who were nominated for the presidency and vice presidency at that convention.

Of particular interest to Negroes is the relative position of these men on civil rights. First let us investigate Gov. Adlai Stevenson's position in this vital issue. His position is of great importance, because without his support the plank on civil rights included in the party platform will die stillborn.

At his first press conference held in Springfield, Ill., Gov. Stevenson presented his position on this issue. Here is a rundown on questions and answers presented at that time:

(Q.) Your stand on FEPC supposedly is one acceptable to various sections of the country. You stated the states should be permitted their own hand. But, failing to do so, adequate leadership would be engendered by the federal government and it should take over. Can you explain?

(A.) I can't be too specific in the sense of trying to articulate the meaning or purpose of the Democratic platform. What I can say is what I have said before. I think that all citizens are equal before the law in the United States, and that they should have equal political opportunities and rights.

My own feeling has been that the states have an obligation to discharge these responsibilities at the local level. I have tried to do that in Illinois in the past two sessions of the legislature. We have had some results here which have been gratifying.

I have felt that there might be some merit in the Humphrey-Ives

bill introduced in this session of Congress not long before its adjournment, which looks in the direction of what is perhaps a feasible accommodation of state-federal relationships in this field.

(Q.) Does the President of the United States have an obligation, in your judgement to have Senate Rule 22 (cloture or debate limitation) taken off the books?

(A.) I don't know about that. I suppose the President might purposely be concerned with the rules of the Senate. Because it is so basic in terms of government theory, I should certainly want to study it and to take advice and confer with leaders of the Senate, and leaders of both parties for that matter.

I am told that it has disadvantages as well as advantages. There are other considerations involved in unlimited and free debate that must not be overlooked in our anxiety to advance in one field alone.

Well so much for the presidential candidate, let's now turn to Sen. John J. Sparkman of Alabama, the vice presidential candidate.

The NAACP has supplied the answers to this southern's position on civil rights. He record, according to the NAACP, placed him against civil rights on 16 different occasions. Not once did he vote for civil rights, according to the NAACP.

On such issues as FEPC, cloture, segregation in the Armed Forces, segregation in public housing, withholding of federal funds

from jimcrow school systems, anti-poll tax, anti-lynch, and other issues of interest to Negroes, Sen. Sparkman opposed Negroes.

As a matter of fact, his record on these issues is worse than that of Sen. Richard Nixon, the Republican vice presidential candidate. The NAACP survey showed Sen. Nixon voted three times for and four times against civil rights legislation.

Sen. Sparkman, however, did work for adoption of the present plank in the party's platform. Some people see this as an indication that the civil rights plank is weak, while others see it as a reflection of Sparkman's true sentiments.

Sparkman said in Washington last week:

"The plank represents as near a meeting of minds as we could work out.

"It is not what either extreme wanted, but I believe all can stand on it.

"I am hopeful all will recognize it's an earnest and sincere effort to meet the problem."

Solid South May Crack

However, from reports coming in from the South, indications are that many southern Democrats are not sure that they intend to stand on the plank. As a matter of fact, some of them are not sure they will support the Democrat party.

Discontent is running rampant in the usually Democrat South. Whether or not it will break out in a revolt is still hard to say, but there are indications that disgruntled Democrats in some of the southern states may aid Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Republican candidate.

If this occurs, it will be the first break in the Democratic South since 1928 when that section of the country refused to support Alfred Smith, the Catholic Democrat party candidate.

South Carolina Democrats reconvened their convention Aug. 6 to decide whether to string with Gov. Stevenson. The South Carolina convention was adjourned until after the Chicago party session to see what kind of platform was adopted and who the candidate would be.

Gov. James Byrnes, who wanted to vote against the platform but

could not because his delegation was not seared at the time, has said he would make a statement on the party's candidates during the state convention.

Gov. John Battle of Virginia will not comment on the platform or candidates until after the state central committee meets.

Louisiana's Gov. Robert Kennon said the central committee, which has the power to name candidates for Louisiana Democrats, would determine whether to support the national ticket.

Democratic leaders in Mississippi were split on who they would support. Former Lt. Gov. Sam Lumpkin said Eisenhower's name would be suggested to the Democrats as a candidate at the Aug. 28 meeting of the state convention.

However, Gov. Hugh White said he would support the regular party nominee. So did Gov. Herman Talmadge of Georgia.

One southerner is whole heartedly in support of the party's candidates. He is Fred Pickens of Arkansas, chairman of the delegation to the recent National Convention.

Others who have stated that they would support the ticket include:

C. Farris Bryant of Florida, who headed the convention delegation to Chicago; Alabama's electoral candidates are firmly pledged to vote for the national ticket.

An editorial in the News and Courier, a daily published in Charleston, S. C., has denounced the regular party ticket. It said in part:

"Of only one thing can be sure. A vote for Stevenson and Sparkman is a vote for more Trumanism, for bigger spending, higher taxes, deeper involvement in foreign entanglements and fiercer attacks on the racial customs of the South.

"A vote for Eisenhower and Nixon will be a vote for a return toward States Rights, economy in government, safer handling of our interests abroad and at least a start back home from the long journey toward socialism and dictatorship."

Raising Interest Rates Brought The Issue Out

HOWEVER, the question of Southern banks and the anti-discrimination clause did not come up until just recently. In fact, it might not have had Secretary Benson at all if he had not had to raise interest rates charged Southern farmers.

When Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey raised interest rates on government bonds, the Community Credit Corporation was required to raise its rates to farmers from 3 to 3½ per cent. On top of this, the bankers have been getting one-half of 1 per cent for handling the price support loans, and Benson raised the bankers' percentages from one-half to three-quarters of 1 per cent.

Thus new contracts had to be written. And when the new contracts were written, Republican attorneys in the Agriculture Department pointed out that they would have to comply with the anti-discrimination requirement.

Friends say that Benson, who is one of the 12 apostles of the Mormon Church and strong champion of equal rights, personally feels bad about the entire matter, but that he couldn't help himself.

SPARKMAN SIDETRACKS POWELL'S QUESTIONS

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Sen. John Sparkman of Alabama, Democratic nominee for Vice President, has refused to commit himself on civil rights, FEPC, and cloture.

Sparkman had been asked by Cong. Adam Clayton Powell (D N. Y.) to make public his position on the the contested issues and to state clearly whether he would campaign actively for their passage in the next session of Congress.

The best Powell could wring from Sparkman was a general statement. His telegram to the Harlem minister read: "I pledge to work wholeheartedly for the Democratic program..."

Recalling Sparkman's refusal to help defeat the filibuster in the 82nd session of Congress, Powell asked Sparkman would he vote to change Senate Rule 22 in order that a simple majority could end the the usual Dixie talkathon. If Sparkman is elected vice president he could cast the deciding vote in case of a Senate tie. He would have the added power of playing favorites in deciding who is to speak from the Senate floor.

On the filibuster issue, Sparkman was bluntly elusive. He told Powell: "As an experienced legislator, you will understand, I am sure, that no one can properly give blanket assurance in advance as to his action on any and every measure."

Elsewhere, Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the Democrats "may have kicked out of the window their chances of winning the election by nominating Sen. Sparkman."

In his syndicated column, White declared, "Barring a miracle, the Democrats have thereby alienated a possible three to five million voters. White pointed out that Sparkman's voting record on civil rights is "identical with that of Sen. Russell and other Southerners."

Shortly after Sparkman's nomination, Powell told newsmen that some party leaders apparently "would drive Negroes from the party in order to hold the Dixie vote."

Fly Negro Soldier From Korean Battle Front To Testify In Civil Rights Case Here This Week

Former Pike County Sheriff And Officers Face \$1000 Fine And One Year Imprisonment

White Banker And Merchant Star Witness For The Prosecution

(Editor's Note: The jury returned a verdict of "not guilty" in this case Wednesday afternoon.)

Jackson, Miss., March 5—(DSN)

The first civil rights case of real significance to be brought to the bar in the State of Mississippi got underway in the Federal Court here early this week with former Sheriff Robert E. Lee of Pike County, former Deputies Frank Smith and Andrew Jones, County Patrol Officer Nolen Wall, and Constable J. J. Monfront on trial for the violation of the civil rights of Murry Gray a Pike County Negro now a Veteran of the Korean war.

The officers are being tried under an indictment that charges them with taking the Negro man to the woods, tying him to a tree and beating him to force a confession in connection with a McComb City Service Station robbery. If convicted, they face a \$1,000 fine and one year imprisonment.

Gray who voluntarily enlisted in the army shortly after the incident took place last July was flown here from the Korean battlefield to testify in the case in which two of its star witnesses Horace Prescott, prominent white merchant of McComb, and Barton Hampton, McComb bank cashier.

In testifying before the Council Tuesday the Negro soldier said he voluntarily surrendered himself to the Marshall when he heard he was being sought for questioning regarding the burglary.

He said he was put in jail and the next day was taken from his

cell to a place in the woods about four miles from town handcuffed to a tree and beaten.

"They handcuffed me around a pine tree and beat me," he said. He showed the jury scar marks on his arms and said they were made by the tree's bark cutting his flesh, as he thrashed about from the sting of the blows.

Gray said he was in custody about 12 days and no time given a hearing or arraignment. Three local justices of the peace testified Gray had not appeared in their courts.

Gray said former Sheriff Robert E. Lee led the alleged attack on him while trying to get Gray to confess the burglary.

The Negro said later Lee's two deputies gave him another whipping.

"One of them put his foot on my neck and the other held my legs," while the whipping was given, he said.

Defense Attorney Ross Barnett asked Gray if he hadn't tried to escape from Sheriff Lee and that Lee fought with Gray to subdue him.

Gray denied any attempted escape.

The indictment of the former Sheriff and officers followed an investigation which resulted from complaints of white church and civic groups.

CIVIL RIGHTS QUERY PUT TO EISENHOWER

Leader of Group for Colored Asks if General Has 'Secret Understanding' With Byrnes

SOUTH BOSTON, Va., Oct. 12—Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, demanded today that Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower state whether he had a "secret understanding" with Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina regarding civil rights.

Describing Governor Byrnes as "our bitter foe," Mr. Mitchell said that Negro voters "have a right to ask General Eisenhower whether the support that Byrnes has promised the Republican Presidential nominee was given in exchange for any secret understanding about how civil rights matters will be handled if the General is elected."

Mr. Mitchell's remarks, made in an address before a state-wide conference of the Virginia advancement association, followed on the heels of President Truman's assertion to a crowd in the Harlem section of New York City yesterday that an Eisenhower election victory would endanger all progress in the civil rights field.

Mr. Mitchell said that Negro votes represented a political balance-of-power in a number of closely contested states this year, and it was important that General Eisenhower "answer my question" because "at this point in the campaign it is impossible to see how any one who believes in fair employment practices could support General Eisenhower."

Stresses General May Shift

"Please keep in mind the words 'at this point in the campaign,'" Mr. Mitchell told his audience. "There is still time for General Eisenhower to take a favorable stand on the vital issues of fair employment practices and elimination of the Senate filibuster. Unfortunately, the prospect of getting the Republican party to take an honest stand on civil rights is not very bright."

The major civil rights issues of the moment, Mr. Mitchell said, are fair employment legislation with enforcement powers and the elimination of the Senate's filibuster rules. On these two points, he said, Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic Presidential nominee "today is far ahead of General Eisen-

hower."

He asserted that General Eisenhower has "refused" to make "equal commitments" on these major issues. However, he said that General Eisenhower has "reversed his previous stand favoring segregation in the armed services and now *** also *** is in favor of working for the elimination of segregation in the District of Columbia."

Mr. Mitchell added that a Republican answer to his query about a civil rights "secret understanding" would not be satisfactory if it were delivered by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York or Senator John Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, whose civil rights views are known.

"Until we hear the voice of Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio or General Eisenhower, we have not heard a true spokesman for the majority of those who now control the Republican party," Mr. Mitchell declared.

Looks to 'Uphill Fight'

He said that Negroes must "face the uncomfortable truth that no matter who wins the election, our fight for full democracy will continue to be an uphill struggle." He added that "sinful factions" in both major parties were opposed to progressive legislation involving human rights.

Mr. Mitchell listed among the "sinners" such Democratic party figures as Senators Richard B. Russell of Georgia, Harold F. Byrd of Virginia, Pat McCarran of Nevada and Representative Howard Smith of Virginia, and named among the Republicans Senators

Robert A. Taft of Ohio and Richard M. Nixon of California, Vice-Presidential candidate, and Representative Leo Allen of Illinois.

The speaker asserted that the Republican party here was "busily wooing" the South's reactionary elements, and he urged the Negro voters in the region to link arms in common cause with "a new South of progressive management and liberal labor unions."

Negro voters "must never rest until they have broken the power of the Byrd machine," he declared. They may well decide whether Virginia goes in the Republican or Democratic columns on Nov. 4, Mr. Mitchell said.

In 1948 in Virginia, Negroes cast about 40,000 votes for President Truman, whose plurality over the then Republican nominee, Governor Dewey of New York, was 27,716 votes, while the combined ballots of Governor Dewey and Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the States Rights candidate for President, exceeded Mr. Truman's by 14,677.

Harlem Cheers as Truman Defends 'Rights' Record

Patricia, Pa
Comm
Sat. 20-18-52
P.1



Crowd listens to Truman plead for continued Negro support in Harlem

NEW YORK—President Truman offered peace, protection against a depression and continued progress toward full civil right for "all Americans" in an address in Harlem on Saturday, marking the second time a President of the United States has spoken in the community.

Thousands crowded the streets, the park and the hills in front of the City College, at Dorrance Brooks Park, 136th Street and Edgecombe Avenue.

The President accepted for the second time the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Brotherhood Award from the Interdenominational Ministers Meeting of Greater New York and vicinity.

Sat. 20-18-52
"THE DEMOCRATIC party under Adlai Stevenson," President Truman said, "offers you the best hope of peace in the world. The Democratic party offers you the best protection against another depression, and not least, it offers you continued progress toward full civil rights for all Americans."

The President said there were definite reasons for his "deep interest" in civil rights.

"Right after World War II," he said, "religious and racial intolerance began to show up just as it did in 1919."

Comm
"There were a good many incidents of violence and friction, but two of them in particular made a deep impression on me. One was when a Negro veteran, still wearing this country's uniform, was arrested and

beaten and blinded.

"Not long after that, two Negro veterans and their wives lost their lives at the hands of a mob."

PRESIDENT TRUMAN cited the progress his administration had made in the fields of civil service, the armed forces, education and housing, adding that "the Federal Government could do a better job if we had stronger civil rights laws."

Taking a poke at General Eisenhower, President Truman asserted that "while the Republican candidate was in uniform, he told the Armed Services Committee of the Senate that a certain amount of segregation is necessary in the Army."

Sat.
"You and I know that this is morally wrong. And what's more, it's even militarily wrong."

"Our troops in Korea are dem-

onstrating every day that Americans can stand side by side, regardless of color, and fight better because of it."

Chicago
"URGING FULL support to Adlai Stevenson, President Truman said that Governor Stevenson 'has the courage to say the same things about civil rights in New York and in Richmond, Va.'"

"He has been a great civil rights Governor and he will make a great civil rights President."

In conclusion, President Truman asserted that "you know that if there is one thing I have fought for as President of the United States, it has been the protection of the God-given rights of every citizen of this great country. I solemnly pledged myself to that task at a meeting like this four years ago. Today, I have listed some of the things we have accomplished in that great fight and Adlai Stevenson has shown by his record that he will continue that fight with renewed vigor."

Accompanied by his daughter, Margaret, who completely captivated the thousands of spectators, President Truman was

escorted by Senator Herbert L. Lehman, Mayor Vincent Impellitteri, Manhattan Boro President Robert Wagner and Averell Harriman.

Reporter Starts Own 'Civil Rights' Crusade

Leaves Stevenson Party After Being Denied Overnight Accommodations in New Orleans Hotel

By JOHN E. ROUSSEAU
(Louisian Editor, the Courier)

NEW ORLEANS—A Negro reporter, James Hicks—who started his own "civil rights crusade" here last week, has once again "made red" the faces of the Democratic "high command" and has precipitated a schism which could have nation-wide repercussions.

It all started here Friday, when three race newspapermen (Hicks, Wesley South and Charles Wartman) were denied accommodations at the Roosevelt Hotel.

To say that Governor Stevenson and his advisers are upset about how their trip is going is something of an understatement.

WHAT HAS the Democratic "big brass" . . . white and colored alike . . . chewing their fingers, is the inevitable reaction to what happened here when the Stevenson campaign, through almost incredible mismanagement, smacked headlong into the issue of civil rights. 18-18-52

As the result of what happened, Hicks, indignant at the prospects of being discriminated against because of his race, boarded a New York-bound plane Friday night.

South and Wartman, who felt that they had to carry out their assignments as newspapermen despite what happened, stayed at Dillard University.

Interviewed Saturday, Atty. A. P. Tureaud, secretary of the state-wide Stevenson Committee, said his group met the newsmen and had quarters available. "just in case they were not accommodated with the rest of the entourage." However, they denied having any part in planning any "jim crowism."

TROUBLE IS alleged to have started on the arrival of the Stevenson press party at the New Orleans airport. The press buses for the fifty-correspondents were waiting. But there was also a "special" car that had been sent out to pick up the three Negro reporters in the party.

On the ride into town, Hicks stood up and spoke his piece. More than a week ago, in Springfield, he said, he had learned that a problem was brewing about quartering the Negro correspond-

ents in hotels in New Orleans—the only over-night stop in the South.

He thought about it then and decided what he would do about it. Two days ago in St. Louis, he said, he learned that the Negro reporters would not be allowed to use the press room at the Roosevelt Hotel in New Orleans.

On arrival they would be taken to nearby Dillard University, quartered there and escorted back and forth to cover the Governor's speech in Beauregard Square.

HICKS TRIED to ask someone in authority about the matter. He started with Miss Mary Watt, secretary to Governor Stevenson's press officer, William Flanagan. He was referred to an assistant press officer. Finally, on Thursday, he got to see Mr. Flanagan himself. The reporter told Mr. Flanagan that if he could not remain with the party and cover the New Orleans story with the rest of the group, he would not cover it all. He would rejoin the party later on where the segregation problem did not exist. Mr. Flanagan said he would see about it.

At the airport, Negro reporters were denied the press credentials handed out to the rest of the party. Mr. Hicks was told they could not ride into town on the same bus with the other men. He got on anyway.

Mr. Flanagan, it happened, was riding on the same bus. He answered a few questions from the rest of the reporters. An effort had been made to get the Negro correspondents in the hotel. The request had been "turned down flatly" by the manager, Seymour

Weiss, former Huey Long lieutenant.

FLANAGAN POINTED out "that Governor Stevenson neither owns nor manages the Roosevelt Hotel." He had not consulted the candidate personally on the matter, he said, but not because he considered it unimportant.

Then, as the bus stopped at a traffic light, Mr. Flanagan got out and walked the rest of the way to the hotel.

Mr. Hicks entered the crowded lobby at the Roosevelt with the rest of the correspondents and went up to the second-floor press room. Several telephone calls were made. The answer was not long in coming: the three Negro reporters "definitely" would not be permitted to stay. It was pointed out there was a local law against permitting Negroes staying at hotels for whites.

AS THE reporters left the hotel to hear Governor Stevenson speak, Mr. Hicks jumped into a taxi bound for the airport and New York City.

The impressive thing about the incident was that it could have been foreseen and need never have happened. A more alert staff would have made sure that it did not happen.

When General Eisenhower comes through New Orleans next week, he will be traveling on the train. When he spent the night in Miami early in the campaign, special and careful arrangements were made to get the Negro reporters—including, incidentally, Mr. Hicks—into the hotel.

Later, at a hurriedly-called press conference, Louisiana's National Committeeman Frank Ellis tried to explain what had happened. He had been in charge of local arrangements, he said.

HE HAD been instructed from Springfield, Ill., that he should make "every effort" to see that segregation problems did not arise during Governor Stevenson's visit.

An outdoor meeting had been arranged to avoid the problem of mixed indoor audiences. He had

called in a special committee, consisting of the major Negro groups, to work out the problem of accommodation. The quarters at the university, he said, "were equal, if not superior, to those of the hotel."

It is said that Governor Stevenson knew nothing of the incident Friday night when he started to speak.

Ironically enough, in his speech he said, "As you know, I stand on the Democratic platform with respect to minority rights."

Civil Rights Fight To Continue—Truman

President Makes Promise As Publishers Award Plaque

By LOUIS LAUTIER
(NNPA)

White House correspondents who stood only a few feet away.

Later, the President sent an aide to ask the publishers who participated in the ceremony for their autographs.

Outdoor Ceremony

The ceremony was held outdoors, in the Rose Garden, just outside of the executive offices. It had all the trappings of an important affair of state—some members of Mr. Truman's staff, reporters, still photographers, and motion picture cameras. Mr. Truman stood directly in front of the microphone. He was flanked by Mr. Murphy and Louis E. Martin, publisher of the Michigan Chronicle, who is president of the publishers association. The other twelve publishers stood on the steps immediately behind the three principal actors in this little drama.

Perhaps it was the remarks of Mr. Murphy which heightened the dramatic effect as he presented the plaque as a "remembrance," and described the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights as "a new charter of freedom for little people."

Tells Of Results

Mr. Murphy briefly recounted the results of the adoption by Mr. Truman of the recommendations of that committee. These results, Mr. Murphy said, included "A new freedom from fear and intimidation," and "a new opportunity" for millions of colored people to "register and vote for the first time in 50 years."

He also told Mr. Truman that he had given colored people their first chance since the War of 1812 "to become entirely integrated" in the armed forces and praised him for his fight for fair employment practices and for di-

recting Howard McGrath, former Attorney General, and Philip H. Perlman, former Solicitor General, to participate in the arguments before the Supreme Court in the racial restrictive covenant cases and the cases involving racial segregation in graduate or professional education in Texas and Oklahoma.

Text Of Statement

The text of Mr. Murphy's statement presenting the plaque in behalf of the publishers follows:

"Mr. President:

"Directors of the National Newspaper Publishers Association set their annual board meeting in Washington this week, knowing that you would soon be going back to Independence.

"They asked for this opportunity to come in, shake your hand, say hello and God bless you.

"They have also asked me to place in your hands this plaque as a remembrance.

"It is inscribed to you, the 33rd President of the United States, who has awakened the conscience of America.

New Charter of Freedom

"When we wrote that, we thought of that magnificent report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, a new charter of freedom for little people.

"You did not simply accept it, you adopted it, you advocated it in season and out, as the program of your administration.

"Out of your courageous efforts, to which this plaque refers, has come among us:

"1. A new freedom from fear and intimidation.

"2. A new opportunity for millions of our fellow citizens to register and vote for the first time in 50 years.

"3. Our first chance since the Revolution and the War of 1812 to become entirely integrated in the Army and Navy.

Back To Principles

"The colored men who fought in the Continental Army at Bunker Hill or with Commodore Perry in the Battle of Lake Erie, Mr. President, were not in jim crow units. You brought us back to first principles.

"4. You have pricked the conscience of the nation by your insistence that all Americans have jobs and a chance for promotion without discrimination.

"5. When we write here of your courageous battle for democracy at home, we think of the appearance of Philip Perlman or Howard McGrath before the High Court of the nation, at your direction, to say that an end of restrictive covenants and the opening of state institutions of higher learning to all citizens are in the national interest.

Unforgettable Scenes

"All of these and many others are to us unforgettable scenes in your fine administration.

"We publishers want you to know it and just one thing more:

"We think we speak for our readers when we say that no President has retired from public office with a more real and, we hope, more abiding affection of the humbler Americans than yourself.

"The publishers ask you to take this plaque as an evidence of our regard."

The plaque read: "To: Harry S. Truman, 33rd President of The United States, Who Has Awakened the Conscience of America and given New Strength to Our Democracy by His Courageous Efforts in Behalf of Freedom and Equality for All Citizens. NNPA. 1952."

Represent 40 Papers

The National Newspaper Publishers Association represents for its colored newspapers, including republican, democratic and independent publications.

The presentation of the plaque to Mr. Truman had no political significance. It had human significance. The publishers voted at their annual meeting in St. Louis last June to give the plaque to Mr. Truman.

Publishers present at the presentation were:

Louis E. Martin, the Michigan Chronicle, Detroit, and president of the NNPA; William O. Walker, Cleveland Call and Post, Cleveland, Ohio; John O. Sengstacke, Defender Publications, Chicago; Dowdal H. Davis, general manager, the Kansas City Call, Kan-

C. A. Scott, the Atlanta Daily World; C. C. Dejoie, the Louisiana Weekly, New Orleans; T. C. Jernigan, Wilmington Journal, Wilmington, N.C.; N. A. Sweets, St. Louis American; Frank W. Mitchell, St. Louis Argus; Thomas W. Young, Norfolk Journal and Guide; Charles P. Browning, the Chicago Defender; Carl Murphy, the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers, East St. Louis, East St. Louis, Ill.

Business transacted by the publishers included setting the date and approving the program for their mid-winter meeting at New Orleans, Jan. 30 and 31; adopting a program for public relations and a discussion of new methods of improving their news service. Judge James A. Cobb was an informal speaker at the closing luncheon.

WASHINGTON President Truman said here Friday that he will continue to fight for civil rights as long as he lives.

The Chief Executive made his promise during a touching ceremony at the White House when the National Newspaper Publishers Association presented him with a plaque "for his courageous efforts on behalf of freedom and equality for all citizens."

"Thank you — thank you very much," the President said after the presentation was made in behalf of the publishers by Carl Murphy, president of the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers and vice-president of the association.

He's In Dead Earnest

"I hope I will always deserve it," Mr. Truman said. "I was in dead earnest in the effort to implement the report of the Commission on Civil Rights. I shall continue to work for it as long as I live, for it is part and parcel of the principles for which I have always stood, and for which I will always stand as long as I live.

"I appreciate it most highly, and I sincerely hope that I will deserve it. What you said has been most kind—and I appreciate that, too, I want to tell you, and I would like to have a copy of that statement for my scrap book."

The statement he referred to was the one made by Mr. Murphy in a voice registering a mild emotion as of grief over the coming departure of Mr. Truman from the White House. In thanking the publishers, Mr. Truman's voice was barely audible to the corps of

Future of Civil Rights

BECAUSE it is a foregone conclusion that an effective federal civil rights program will not emerge from the Congress which was elected Nov. 4, it will be up to individual states to protect persons from being discriminated against because of race, color, creed or national origin. Action by states has been notably weak, especially in those states where it is most needed.

About the only positive commitment made by President-elect Eisenhower regarding civil rights was his promise to end segregation in the District of Columbia and in the armed services.

The increased Congressional power of the Dixiecrats and the re-election of many Republicans who have worked hand-in-glove with them to stymie any civil rights legislation, will force those who believe in freedom for all Americans to rely more on their own efforts than official action.

The American Federation of Labor will continue to strive for civil rights for everyone. With other like-minded groups we will never give up this fight for progress.

The New Attorney General

Herbert Brownell Will Strengthen Civil Rights Dep't

By STANLEY ROBERTS
(Washington Correspondent)

WASHINGTON—At long last there is a man known for his direct civil rights action, who will head up the Department of Justice. This is of urgent importance to Negroes.



Mr. Brownell

Attorney Herbert Brownell Jr. of New York City has been appointed Attorney General of the United States by President-elect Dwight Eisenhower.

Informed Americans know that it was "Herb" Brownell, in his long association with New York's Governor Tom Dewey, who boldly led the fight for enactment of the first fair employment law ever passed in this nation.

The New York State FEPC law was passed in 1945 by a Republican Legislature and signed by Republican Governor Dewey. It has

the strongest enforcement powers and has enjoyed the greatest success of all the eleven state FEP laws enacted to date (nine of which have been enacted by Republicans).

Mr. Brownell, the Courier has learned from his best friends, is keenly aware of the fact that the Constitution prohibits discrimination by any Government agency — Federal, state or local.

HIS ASSOCIATES informed the Courier this week that Mr. Brownell has often observed that the Constitution has not been enforced by the Democratic Administration's Department of Justice.

These friends of Mr. Brownell attest to the fact that he knows the Constitution is widely violated as far as indictments and convictions pertaining to civil rights are concerned... particularly in the Southern States.

Brownell associates told the Courier the following:

"Democrats have long known that the South is the bulwark of the Democratic party — always has been, always will be — and without it Democrats cannot win an election. That is why Southern Democrats who opposed Truman in 1948 were not punished and that is why they were allowed to violate civil rights statutes in the last few years up to and including the 1952 election.

HERBERT BROWNELL will expand and strengthen the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. He will be the boss of J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, and Hoover, from all indications will be retained in that job.

Hoover's FBI men have been hamstrung, sabotaged... and have received very little cooperation in their investigations of lynchings, denial of the right of Negroes to vote and other flagrant denials of Federal protection.

Courier readers will remember the following facts in appraising their new Attorney General-designate:

1. Ike knows Tom Dewey's position on civil rights;
2. Tom Dewey was assigned the hatchet-man role in exposing John Sparkman in the last election;
3. Herb Brownell, close friend and adviser of Ike and Dewey, will be the new Attorney-General.

THOSE FACTS would seem to lead to the conclusion that Mr. Brownell will be given a free hand to run the Justice Department in the best interests of the American people.

It is our conclusion that both bigots and cynical citizens who feel that the Justice Department cannot track down those who ignore the Government's civil rights laws will soon learn better.

Herbert Brownell will run the Justice Department... and the emphasis will be on justice!

Sen. Sparkman's 10-Year Record

NEW YORK—Democratic vice presidential nominee John J. Sparkman, U. S. Senator from Alabama, has voted against civil rights issues sixteen times during his ten years in the House and Senate, a survey made by the NAACP reveals.

Sparkman's record in the Senate follows:

- (1) Against protection of servicemen from assaults by civilians and local police, March 7, 1951;
- (2) For continuing the anti-FEPC filibuster, May 19 and July 12, 1950;
- (3) For segregation in the armed forces, June 21, 1950;
- (4) Against the Barkley ruling which would have permitted limitation of debate on motions to take up a measure as well as on the measure, March 11, 1949;
- (5) For the Wherry-Hayden resolution requiring 64 votes to stop a Senate filibuster, March 17, 1949;
- (6) Against prohibition of segregation in public housing, April 21, 1949;
- (7) Against withholding of Federal funds from Jim-crow school systems, May 3, 1949;
- (8) For ratification of the regional compact to establish segregated regional colleges, May 13, 1948;
- (9) Against an anti-lynching measure to protect members of the armed services, June 7, 1948;
- (10) Against the abolition of segregation in the armed services, June 7, 1948;
- (11) Against relieving servicemen of the obligations to pay a poll tax to participate in Federal elections, June 7, 1948.

In the House he voted:

- (12) Against prohibition of discrimination in the disbursement of funds for the school lunch program, Feb. 21, 1946;
- (13) Against abolition of the poll tax, June 12, 1945.
- (14) Against abolition of the poll tax, Oct. 13, 1942;
- (15) Against abolition of the poll tax, May 23, 1943;
- (16) For the dismissal of William Pickens, Feb. 9, 1943, former NAACP official, from his position in the Treasury Department because the House Un-American Activities Committee had unjustly accused him of subversive activities.

'Will Work For Civil Rights As Long As I Live', Truman Tells Publishers

By Louis Lautier

Washington, D. C. (NNPA) —

In an impressive ceremony at the White House last Friday, the National Newspaper Publishers Association presented President Truman with a plaque "for his courageous efforts on behalf of freedom and equality for all citizens."

That Mr. Truman was moved by the presentation was indicated when, at the close of his remarks thanking the publishers, he asked for a copy of the presentation statement for his scrap book. Later, he sent an aide to ask the publishers who participated in the ceremony for their autographs.

The presentation was made in behalf of the publishers by Carl Murphy, president of the Afro American Newspapers and vice-president of the NNPA.

In presenting the plaque, Mr. Murphy's voice registered a mild emotion as of grief over the coming departure of Mr. Truman from the White House. And in thanking the publishers, Mr. Truman's voice was barely audible to the corps of White House correspondents who stood only a few feet away.

The ceremony was held in the rose garden. It had all the trappings of an important affair of state — reporters, still photographers and motion picture cameramen. Some members of Mr. Truman's staff looked on.

Mr. Truman stood directly in front of the microphones. He was flanked by Mr. Murphy and Louis E. Martin, publisher of the Michigan Chronicle and president of the NNPA. The other twelve publishers stood on the steps immediately behind the three principal actors in this little drama.

Perhaps it was the remarks of Mr. Murphy which heightened the dramatic effect as he presented the plaque as a "remembrance," and described the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights as "a new charter of freedom for little people."

Mr. Murphy briefly recounted the results of the adoption by Mr. Truman of the recommendations of that committee. These results, Mr. Murphy said, included "A new freedom from fear and intimidation" and a new opportunity for millions of colored people to "register and vote for the first time



Pictured above is the impressive ceremony of the National Newspaper Publishers Association who on last Friday in the nation's capitol presented President Truman with a plaque "for his courageous efforts on behalf of freedom and equality for all citizens". On the back row reading from left to right) are Charles Browning, Chicago Defender, partly obscured by Frank Mitchell, St. Louis Argus; Tom Jervay, Wilmington Journal; C. C. Dejoie, Jr., Louisiana Weekly; N. A. Sweets, St. Louis American. Third row, Thomas Young, Norfolk Journal and Guide; Frank Stanley, Louisville Defender; C. A. Scott, Atlanta Daily World and John Sengstacke, Chicago Defender. (Second Row) John Kirkpatrick, East St. Louis Crusader, Louis Martin, Michigan Chronicle and Dowdal Davis, Kansas City Call. The first row shows President Truman, Carl Murphy, Afro-American and W. O. Walker of the Cleveland Call-Post. (See story.)

in 50 years."

He also told Mr. Truman that he had given colored people their first chance since the War of 1812 "to become entirely integrated" in the armed forces and praised him for his efforts to end job discrimination and for directing J. Howard McGrath, former Attorney General, and Philip B. Perlman, former Solicitor General, to

participate in the arguments before the Supreme Court in the cases involving racial restrictive covenants and racial segregation in graduate and professional education in the universities of Oklahoma and Texas.

The text of Mr. Murphy's statement follows:

"Mr. President:

"Directors of the National Newspaper Publishers Association set

their annual board meeting in Washington this week, knowing that you would soon be going back to Independence.

"They asked for this opportunity to come in, shake your hand, say hello and God bless you.

"They have also asked me to place in your hands this plaque as a remembrance.

"It is inscribed to you, the 32nd President of the United States,

who has awakened the conscience of America.

"When we wrote that, we thought of that magnificent report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, a new charter of freedom for little people.

"You did not simply accept it, you adopted it, you advocated it, in season and out, as the program of your administration.

"Out of your courageous efforts, to which this plaque refers, has come among us:

"1. A new freedom from fear and intimidation.

"2. A new opportunity for millions of our fellow citizens to register and vote for the first time in 50 years.

"3. Our first chance since the Revolution and the War of 1812 to become entirely integrated in the Army and Navy.

"The colored man who fought in the Continental Army at Bunker Hill or with Commodore Perry in the Battle of Lake Erie, Mr. President, were not in jim crow units. You brought us back to first principles.

"4. You have pricked the conscience of the nation by your insistence that all Americans have jobs and a chance for promotion without discrimination.

"5. When we write here of your courageous battle for democracy at home, we think of the appearance of Philip Perlman or Howard McGrath before the Highest Court of the nation, at your direction, to say that an end of restrictive covenants and opening of state institutions of higher learning to all citizens are in the national interest.

"All of these and many others are to us unforgettable scenes in your fine administration.

"We publishers want you to know it and just one thing more:

"We think we speak for our readers when we say that no President has retired from public office with a more real and we hope more abiding affection of the humbler Americans than yourself.

"The publishers ask you to take this plaque as an evidence of our regard."

The text of Mr. Truman's reply follows:

"Thank you — thank you very much. I hope I will always deserve it. I was in dead earnest in the effort to implement the reports of the Commission on Civil Rights. I shall continue to work for it as long as I live, for it is part and parcel of the principles for which I have always stood, and for which I will always stand as long as I live.

"I appreciate it most highly, and I sincerely hope that I will deserve it. What you said has

been most kind — and I appreciate that, too. I want to tell you, and I would like to have a copy of that statement for my scrap book.

"Thank you very much."

The plaque read: "To Harry S. Truman, 32nd President of the United States, Who Has Awakened the Conscience of America and Given New Strength to Our Democracy by His Courageous efforts in Behalf of Freedom and Equality for All Citizens. NNPA. 1952."

The NNPA represents forty newspapers, including Republican, Democratic and independent publications.

The presentation of the plaque to Mr. Truman had no political significance. It had human significance. The publishers voted at their annual meeting in St. Louis last June to give Mr. Truman the plaque.

Truman In Letter To NAACP Says He's Still For Civil Rights Program

Thunderous Applause Greets Mitchell As He Reads Fortright Message From P. 1. White House

SAYS HE HAS TRIED TO APPEAL TO CONSCIENCE OF THE NATION

Oklahoma City, Okla., July 7.—"The ten-point program I sent to Congress in 1948 is still my civil rights program," declared President Harry S. Truman, in a two-page letter written to Walter White and dispatched to Oklahoma City Tuesday.

The letter, read by Clarence Mitchell of the Washington Bureau, was received with thunderous applause, and the rafters in Calvary Baptist Church shook as a spontaneous response came from the vast audience thrilled by the determined purpose of the chief executive to keep the matter of civil rights squarely before the nation during the present presidential campaign.

There follows the exact text of the President's message:

Dear Mr. White:

It is with genuine pleasure that

I send greetings through you to all who are attending the forty-third annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Five years ago I addressed your convention on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. The first post-war years were trying for everyone who believes strongly and literally in the words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

For a time it looked as though the wartime gains in the equal rights and equal opportunities were about to be wiped out in a wave of hatred and violence similar to that which swept over the country after the First World War. It was determined that should not happen again. I was certain that the President of the United States must take the initiative in developing an affirmative civil rights program.

Not long ago I talked with you about this problem, and the President's Committee on Civil Rights handed to me and to the American people its momentous report. That report was a re-statement of our American principle of freedom and justice and showed us how to bring them into daily practice.

In February, 1948, I sent a special message to the Congress in which I recommended the adoption of a ten-point civil rights program for the benefit of the whole American people. Only two points in that program have been adopted. The day all of it is adopted people begin to wonder what all of this was about, and why it was

not done sooner. Some day it will be taken for granted just like so many advances that have been made in the last five years by the executive branch, the courts, by state and local governments and by private institutions.

But you and I know that these advances—and they are numerous and important—have taken place only because this program has been held high before the American people.

The conscience of the American people is a tremendous force when it is aroused. It has been awakened by the civil rights program and our country is stronger and better and more united because of it.

The ten-point program I sent to Congress in 1948 is still my civil rights program for the American people.

Very sincerely yours,

Harry Truman.

Civil Rights Issue Snarls GOP Convention

CHICAGO, Ill., July 9.—(DSN)—The Republican National Convention now in session here has run into a snarl over the highly explosive Civil Rights issue.

Two southern delegates, unnamed are reported to be holding out against the adoption of a strong civil rights plank.

Gov. Stassen who is among the presidential candidates is reported as preparing to bring the fight for adoption of a strong Civil Rights plank to the floor of the convention.

Rev. Archibald Carey, Jr., Negro Republican leader, and councilman of Chicago warned the convention Tuesday that Negro voters will ignore the pleas of the Republican Party if it fails to adopt a strong stand for Civil Rights.

Clayton Powell Reports Negroes Will Boycott Democratic Ticket

By Frank Kelley

CHICAGO, July 26.—Sen. John J. Sparkman's selection as the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee—a move to restore party harmony between North and South and to head off Republican inroads on Southern strength—brought qualified praise today from a prominent Northern "liberal," Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, N. Y., and bitter protests from Negro spokesmen.

Both Sen. Lehman and the others immediately raised the issue of civil rights, which the "old pros" in the party thought they had buried effectively in forcing the seating of rebellious delegations from Virginia, South Carolina and Louisiana.

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., another member of the New York delegation, exploded with anger at the Sparkman nomination and declared:

"It is death. I personally will not campaign. And I know that is the feeling of Negroes all over the convention floor today."

Rep. Powell added: "If Gen. Eisenhower takes a forthright stand on civil rights—which he hasn't done so far—he's in."

Sen. Lehman, who probably would have preferred a Vice-Presidential nominee from the North, said bluntly on the convention floor that Sen. Sparkman "has been in all respects, except one, a real fighting liberal" and "has the qualities of a fighting candidate."

"If he is to win the support of New York liberals generally," Sen. Lehman said of Sen. Sparkman, "he must accept without reservation the fine civil rights plank in our platform. He must not only accept that plank but advocate the effectuation of the platform of the Democratic party."

Probably anticipating such remarks, Sen. Sparkman, who had just been described by Gov. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois as the prize human animal, recalled in his acceptance speech today that he himself had been on the platform drafting subcommittee, which wrangled all week over the civil rights and anti-filibuster issues, only to come up with a compromise to which the Southerners did

not publicly object.

And, said Sen. Sparkman, the platform is "one upon which we can all stand and upon which we can go to the country and win."

Sen. Lehman added in his statement that he knew Sen. Sparkman "to be a liberal with great capabilities for leadership—he has deep wisdom, great courage and high character."

Then, in effect serving notice that the Northern wing of the party will watch Sen. Sparkman's campaign like a hawk, Sen. Lehman added:

"We, of the North, will welcome his realization that the civil rights program outlined in our platform will be of great benefit to the South, which John Sparkman so well represents."

Sen. Lehman ended with a warning that any failure of Sen. Sparkman to advocate the civil rights plank will weaken the Democratic party's campaign in New York State.

Rep. Powell said it was an unfortunate tragedy that Sen. Sparkman was "such a fine individual," but "he is as impossible to sell to the people of Harlem as it would be for him to sell me as a candidate for Senator in Alabama."

"I don't think all Negroes will swing to the Republican party," Rep. Powell continued, "but I warned the Democratic platform committee last week that if something like this happened the Negro would boycott the Democrats."

Rep. Powell insisted that the Democrats could not win without the Negro vote. He said one delegate had just said to him: "You can cram the candidate down our throats but you can't make us vote for him."

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, predicted it would be "difficult, if not impossible" to get Negro votes for Sen. Sparkman. Mr. White claimed that Negro voters would be repelled by a candidate whose voting record, he said, "has been one of consistent opposition to the civil rights objectives of the Democratic party leaders."

Persons Imitates Folsom

YOU'LL get some idea of how hard Eisenhower is hitting in Alabama by the response of Democratic officeholders.

The first reaction—that of the Governor of Alabama, the titular leader of the Democratic Party—was the kind of trashy utterance one would expect from a smart-aleck demagogue.

Says Gov. Persons of Eisenhower's visit to Alabama:

"After the last 'March Through Georgia' by another famous general, Sherman by name, it took over 50 years for the people of Georgia to recover."

That is the cheeky and insolent response that Gov. Persons offers in the name of the State of Alabama to the visit of a great world figure—a man born in Texas—who thought enough of Alabamians to come and see them.

A Democratic officeholder, Mayor Green of Birmingham (not *The Advertiser*) says 50,000 Alabamians stood before Eisenhower in Woodrow Wilson Park. Another city commissioner (not *The Advertiser*) said that another 75,000 thronged the streets to see a great man. You heard the thunderous applause on your radio as Eisenhower smote the Democratic Party.

This remarkable spectacle the Governor of Alabama describes with a snarling, impertinent reference to "carpetbaggers".

That is Eisenhower's reward from the Governor of Alabama for thinking enough of Alabamians to come here for a speech.

IN THIS statement, Gov. Persons has plunged into the demagogue's wallow alongside Folsom. And the splashes made by one are not different from the splashes made by the other.

"In another hundred years," Persons' written statement yesterday said, "this blotch on Alabama's history [Reconstruction], when federal troops stood

on our street corners and bossed our elections with fixed bayonets, might be forgotten, but until then, Alabama will continue to go along with the Democratic Party.

Having taken up where Folsom left off in Gotrocks demagoguery, Gov. Persons will now resume his exertions to use the weight of the office of governor to pry loose money in Alabama for the campaign of the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket.

Gov. Persons has said that since Alabama is in the bag by a margin of 10-to-1, this money raised in Alabama will be exported to "doubtful" states where Americans are not in the bag.

AS GOV. PERSONS extracts this campaign money for use in states where voters may not be taken for granted 10-to-1, he will, like other of his tedious and uninspired associates, continue to talk about what happened in another century during Reconstruction.

He will not be talking about the new Reconstruction proposed by Stevenson and the former Alabamian, John Jackson Sparkman.

Gov. Persons wants to talk about the 1860 civil rights controversy, not the 1952 civil rights controversy.

TO TALK about the 1952 model, Sparkman gets about as far from Alabama as one can without leaving the country—Long Beach, Calif. Yesterday in California, Alabama's own—John Sparkman—said in a speech reported by the AP—

"I stand exactly with Stevenson on civil rights matters."

That is, he looks favorably upon the pending Humphrey civil rights bill and promises to shut the mouths of southern senators filibustering against civil rights. That includes the mouth that nominated him in Chicago—that of Sen. Lister Hill!

THIS is the Sparkman who on April

17, 1950, said in a Mobile speech:

"I am against the civil rights proposals—always have been and always will be. One of the first votes I cast upon going to Congress 14 years ago was against one of these bills. Almost every year since then I have voted against such proposals."

This is the Sparkman who now wants to shut Lister Hill's mouth and enact civil rights legislation.

EVEN if you favor civil rights legislation, what do you make of the principles of a man who thus reverses himself to truckle to voting minorities far away from his fellow Alabamians?

What else might Sparkman reverse himself on?

THAT is the man for whom Gov. Persons seeks cash contributions from you.

For him Gov. Persons seeks to slick and inflame Alabamians into harking back to the first Reconstruction instead of talking about the Reconstruction now proposed by Adlai Stevenson and John Sparkman.

GOV. PERSONS slurs Eisenhower in terms of "carpetbagger" for thinking enough of Alabama to visit it and supports a presidential candidate who never—until now!—thought of campaigning in Alabama and a native son who wants to gag southern senators.

Stevenson will come South now because Eisenhower has forced him to.

We hope that it will come to pass that Stevenson will even visit Alabama, and that Gov. Persons will be seated next to him as Stevenson tells Alabama how and why he would shut Sen. Hill's filibustering mouth.

His voting record could not be worse. Never, in his many years in Congress, has he missed an opportunity to oppose civil rights or any social, political or economic legislation even remotely bordering on advancement of Negroes.

ON SUCH ISSUES as FEPC, cloture, segregation in the Armed Forces, segregation in public housing, withholding of Federal funds from jim-crow school systems, anti-poll tax, anti-lynch and other issues of vital concern to Negroes, Sparkman's vote has always been against us. Here are some of the highlights of his voting record:

On April 15, 1937, he voted against the anti-lynching bill (HR 1507)P.
In January, 1940, he voted against another anti-lynching bill.
In October, 1942, he voted against a bill to abolish the poll tax, a measure designed to

section of the country... have been asking that the Courier obtain the record of Senator Sparkman. 8-9-52
The record is printed above... is the result of an NAACP study, while the facts contained in this article were obtained by Courier representatives who have access to all pertinent information.

SENATOR SPARKMAN has been in Congress continuously since 1937. He was a member of the House until 1947, when he filled out the unexpired term of the late Senator Bankhead and was then re-elected to the Senate.

Some politicians have had the gall to try and sell Sparkman to Negroes as a "Southern Liberal." There is nothing liberal in his record... or his public utterances... as far as Negroes are concerned.

On all things racial... Sparkman's record is as bad as that of any man in the Senate.

Sparkman Civil Rights Stand: 00

By STAFF CORRESPONDENT
(Special to the Courier)

WASHINGTON—Sixteen times in ten years has Senator John Sparkman, Democratic nominee for vice president, been called to vote on the burning issue of civil rights in the U. S. Congress... and sixteen times has his vote been cast AGAINST any legislation which would help obtain first-class citizenship for Negro Americans!

This is the record of the man hat "We Southern Democrats who today is joined with Gover. Senators... are banded together" and pledged to use every parliamentary device possible to defeat Civil Rights legislation".
This boast was made in a statewide radio speech on April 17, 1950, from Alabama.
NOT ONLY HAS his vote been consistently anti-Negro... but he has BOASTED about the fact

Negro voters... from every

wipe out the corrupt and fraudulent practice of requiring payment in Southern states before one can vote.

In January, 1943, he again cast a vote against an anti-poll tax bill.

On May 26, 1943, he voted against a National War Agency's Appropriation's bill, because that bill contained a \$500,000 item for a Fair Employment Practice Commission. This commission was created by an Executive Order by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

IN JUNE, 1945, he cast his third vote against an anti-poll tax bill.

In February, 1946, he voted against Congressman Adam Clayton Powell's Federal Air School Lunch bill. This amendment provided that no funds be made available to any state or school if, in carrying out its function under this bill, it makes any discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin of children.

In 1947, he voted against Vice President Barkley's decision to make it possible to put and end to Senate filibuster. On the same day he voted to support the Wherry-Hayden amendment, which strengthens the position of those who seek to filibuster. It is by the use of the filibuster that the South is able to kill all civil rights or other legislation favorable to Negroes.

On May 31, 1949, Sparkman voted for the Eastland-Johnson amendment which requires referendum of all qualified voters before any changes in the segregation policies in Washington, D. C., could be made. The original bill would permit the three Washington commissioners to wipe out segregation in the capital.

ON MAY 19, 1950, he voted against limiting debate on the Federal FEPC bill and thereby permitted the South to continue to filibuster this bill to death.

Senator Sparkman's voting record in Congress as it pertains to Negroes does not contain one exception where he has been favorable to the Negro people and this record buttressed by a number of public statements shows him to be an implacable foe of Negroes in their aspirations for justice and equality. His public utterances on Negro issues are just as hostile as his votes.

Here is an excerpt from a

High Court to Get Appeal In Fla. University Ruling

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—The hope of Negroes to attend the all-white University of Florida now depends upon future action of the United States Supreme Court. On Friday the State Supreme Court finally decided that Negroes are to be barred from admission to the state-supported institution.

This ruling was made on the grounds that graduate courses sought by Negroes at the University of Florida are now being offered on an equitable level at Florida A. and M. College. Admission to the white institution was being sought through suit by Virgil Hawkins.

Attorneys for Hawkins and other colored applicants to the white state school have indicated that an appeal will be made to the United States Supreme Court.

We have given you the record radio speech delivered April 17, and the statements of Senator 1950: "There are some things Sparkman. It is also a matter of about the Democratic party that record that neither Governor Stevenson nor Senator Sparkman I do not like, some parts of the platform that I will not accept, were the first choice of Negroes some of the legislative program... nor did Negroes play any that I will not support. We do important part in their nomination. We do not have to sacrifice any of our convictions.

"I AM AGAINST the civil rights proposals, always have been, and always will be. One of the first votes I cast upon going to Congress fourteen years ago was against one of these bills. Almost every year since then I have voted against such proposals.

"Even though the Democratic platform as well as the Republican carried a pledge for civil rights legislation, no such law has been enacted and I predict that if you do not take away from us who represent you in Congress, the power that is ours... as long as we can operate as Democrats on the inside... there will not be any such legislation.

"After all, civil rights legislation is not defeated by Dixiecrat maneuvers in Alabama nor by threats of the formation of a splinter party. In the past it has always been defeated on the floor of the Senate. There and there alone must we look for its defeat in the future.

"WE SOUTHERN Democratic Senators... twenty-one of us... are banded together and pledged to use every parliamentary device possible to defeat civil rights legislation. And listen to this: Every single one of these twenty-one Southern Democratic Senators believes that we should stay in the Democratic party. We know what our most important weapon is, it is the ability to work as Democrats..."

avorable to Negroes have... with Sparkman in the chair? You have seen his vote... you have heard his views!

This is his record... as we have unearthed it.

Final decision is yours to make!

SINCE JUNE 26 arrests of 1,452 South African blacks and colored reported in defiance of jim-crow laws, including five African and Indian Congress leaders. These people are not kidding about fighting bias, unlike some people closer to home.

Lehman Hits Civil Rights Stand of 16

By Murrey Marder

Post Reporter

Senator Herbert H. Lehman (D-N. Y.) yesterday shouted "fraud" at a Republican claim that a GOP victory in November would hasten compulsory legislation on civil rights.

Lehman said he was "shocked at the cynicism" of the statement by 16 GOP leaders on Monday. They said that electing a Republican administration would "accelerate" approval of a Fair Employment Practices Commission with enforcement power.

He charged that it "baldly tried to gloss over the weakness and insincerity of the Republican Party's official position on civil rights."

Lehman, who served as a member of the committee which drafted the Democratic civil rights plank, unsuccessfully attempted to make it much stronger than the plank that was finally adopted. But the final version, he contended yesterday, nevertheless was "an historic advance."

Interprets Plank

For the Republicans to claim that their promise is stronger, he said, "is an insult to the public intelligence."

"I cannot believe that some of those who signed the statement actually read what they signed," said Lehman. "I credit them with more integrity than to deliberately foist such a fraud on the American people."

The statement claiming that a Republican victory would speed a compulsory FEPC was issued as an "interpretation" of

FIRST CHOICE of Negroes for the Democratic Presidential nomination was Averell Harriman of New York. Harriman was favored because he was the only prominent Democratic Presidential candidate who was forthright on civil rights.

Negro delegates and prominent Democratic Negroes did not have a favorite Vice Presidential choice. There was, however, a decided antagonism to any Dixiecrat for that office. As the convention progressed, Senator Estes Kefauver gained in favor and would have been acceptable to most Negroes as a Vice Presidential nominee.

It is also a matter of record that Governor Stevenson was in the conference which decided on Senator Sparkman as the Vice Presidential nominee. No one... not acceptable... could have been selected, had Stevenson protested.

IT IS, THEREFORE, only fair to assume that Stevenson is as much... or more so... responsible for the selection of Sparkman as anyone else. This could throw considerable light on the discussion of Governor Stevenson's racial attitude, which shall be analyzed later.

Senator Sparkman, as Vice President, would preside over the U. S. Senate. He would have great weight in legislative matters before that body.

All civil rights legislation has been killed in the Senate. What chance would any legislation fa

the GOP civil rights plank. The signers included Senators Irving M. Ives (R-N. Y.), Leverett Saltonstall (R-Mass.) and Henry Cabot Lodge (R-Mass.), and Gov. Alfred Driscoll of New Jersey.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, the GOP presidential nominee, said Lehman, "is on record that he does not believe that civil rights should be made 'a Federal compulsory thing.'"

"And the Republican platform," said Lehman, takes a full stand against Federal 'duplication' of State efforts to end discrimination in employment, and ominously warns against the dangers of Federal 'bureaucracy' to deal with employment discrimination."

"If this doesn't mean that the Republican Party is publicly committed against FEPC, I am not familiar with the English language," said Lehman.

Against Filibuster

In the 1952 Democratic platform, he said in contrast, "for the first time a major political party has had the courage to take a definite and clear position against the fundamental barrier which has up to now blocked all civil rights legislation—the filibuster."

"The Republican Party," he said, "on the other hand, pretends it never heard of the filibuster, or of amending the rules of the Senate and House."

"If Gov. Stevenson and Sen. Sparkman accept the full letter and spirit of our civil rights plank, as I hope and expect they will," said Lehman, "the Democratic Party will continue to be, as it has been for the past 20 years, the civil rights party, and the party that will lead the way to a solution of this heavy problem, and the eradication of the shameful blot of discrimination from our national life."

Our Opinions

A Civil Rights Violation

The Chicago Tribune, last week, published an editorial that reflects our thinking on an incident in Mississippi that we regard as one of the most disgraceful violations of the civil rights of an American citizen.

Too often it is thought that the fight carried on by publications such as the Chicago Defender in defense of civil rights concerns only Negroes.

The truth is that the civil rights of all Americans is endangered so long as the rights of any one citizen is violated or ignored.

Here is the Tribune's editorial:

When the states of the union are listed in the order of their civilization, Mississippi generally ranks at or close to the bottom of the ladder. Mississippians lately have tried to do something to raise their standing but with little success as the recent incident in Tupelo plainly shows.

A young man from North Dakota, Newell Anderson, recently took over the job of circulation manager of the Tupelo Journal. His behavior was exemplary, but almost from the day of his arrival he was harassed. The windshield of his automobile was smashed. Sugar was placed in his gasoline tank to foul his motor. Threatening telephone calls were made to his wife, who is pregnant. Finally, he was taken for a ride by hooded men who brandished a razor at his throat and told him to get out of town and stay out if he wanted to remain alive. "We don't like foreigners here," he was told.

At his wife's insistence, Anderson has left Tupelo. The police there appear to be making a sincere effort to capture the hooded men, but appearances may be deceiving. At any rate, if the criminals are not arrested in the course of the next few days, there is a good deal to be said for bringing in the FBI on the theory that it is the duty of the federal government to enforce the principle that a citizen may move freely from state to state and is

entitled under the Constitution to equal protection of the laws in any of them.

Mississippians who choose to regard a man from North Dakota as a foreigner with no rights need to be taught a lesson they will not forget.

Thomas L. Stokes

Ike Soft Pedals On Civil Rights

WASHINGTON—You could, as we say, have knocked old-timers over with a feather when President-elect Eisenhower met the civil-rights problem head-on—with his announcement that he would appoint another commission to study it. Instead of the fresh approach promised for the new administration, this is the old, familiar strategy of postponing action by turning problems over to a commission for presuntory study,

an eventual report, and very frequently no action. President-elect Eisenhower's dilemma is understandable. He evidently does not want his administration to become involved in its early months in an embroilment over an issue that can do nothing but arouse feelings and provoke angry debate. There are also certain practical political considerations. He would incur the risk of jeopardizing, at the outset of his administration, the support of Southerners who voted in such multitudes for him and upon some of whose representatives in Congress he must rely, in the pinches, for help in carrying out his legislative program.

An early clash with Congress over civil rights could be avoided by announcing in his opening message to Congress that he is appointing a commission for study, rather than proposing solutions of his own as President Truman did to his continual discomfiture and the eventual alienation of the South.

President-elect Eisenhower does not go all the way with the Truman program, as he made clear in his campaign. On the chief bone of contention, a Federal Employment Practices Commission, he is for state rather than federal action. He might fare better in the long run if frankly, on his own, he espoused a compromise program of a sort that would have some chance of enactment

by Congress.

Such compromises have been offered in Congress, the one most widely discussed being proposed by a Southern Democrat, Representative Brooks Hays of Arkansas. That calls for a constitutional amendment to abolish poll taxes in the remaining seven Southern states where they still exist; for an anti-lynching law that would permit federal agencies to intervene and act when state and local law-enforcement agencies proved ineffectual; and, in lieu of FEPC, an advisory commission in the Labor department, without punitive powers, to seek removal of discriminations in employment through voluntary and persuasive means in co-operation with state and local agencies.

If the new President threw the immense prestige he enjoys behind a compromise program, a start at least might be made toward a solution of an issue that has been used hypocritically so often by members of both parties for political purposes, a political football kicked around in campaigns and diverted to the "hidden ball" play in Congress. Such tactics have become nauseous to sincere and well-meaning people, including many in Congress, who want a workable solution.

Alabama Man Sues Sheriff On Civil Rights Accusations

DECATUR, Ala.—(INS)—An Alabama Negro has filed suit for \$25,000 in federal court in Decatur, charging that Lawrence County Sheriff Franklin Smith violated his civil rights.

Willie Swope, of Hillsboro, charges in his suit that the sheriff forced his way into his home.

The sheriff contends that he and other officers entered Swope's home with a warrant for the arrest of another man after they had been refused admittance.

CIVIL RIGHTS SUIT FILED Negro Asks \$25,000 Of Sheriff Of An Alabama County

MUSCLE SHOALS, Ala., Dec. 8.—A suit for \$25,000 damages charging violation of civil rights has been filed in federal court in Decatur, Ala., by Willie Swope, of Hillsboro, Ala., Negro, against the sheriff.

It claims Sheriff Smith broke into his home the night of April 21, 1952, without identifying himself.

Smith said he and several other

officers went to the Swope home with a warrant for the arrest of another man and were refused admittance and had to force their way in.

Would End 2nd-Class Citizenship

Will Use White House Influence To Reach Goals

NEW YORK — The full influence of the White House will be thrown behind efforts to achieve civil rights objectives during the next four years, President-elect Dwight D. Eisenhower assured a delegation from the NAACP here Friday, Nov. 28.

"Eisenhower told us that he felt very strongly about the necessity of eliminating second-class citizenship in America," said Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, spokesman for the group which saw the general.

In addition to White, those who participated in the 55-minute conference with General Eisenhower were Arthur B. Spingarn, New York, president of the NAACP; Theodore Spaulding of Philadelphia, and Dr. Channing H. Tobias, members of the NAACP national board. Dr. Tobias also is director of the Phelps Stokes fund.

To End D. C. Segregation

At a press conference held following the meeting with General Eisenhower, the callers told newsmen the president-elect had reiterated his campaign pledges to work for the elimination of segregation in Washington and for the implementation of other planks in the Republican platform.

He also pledged to them that he would use his executive influence with the Senate in an effort to stop filibuster which prevents the passage of civil rights legislation.

White said that there had been a discussion on Senate rule 22. He said that Eisenhower was "well informed" on the rule and promised that he would make known his feelings to Congress on the filibuster method of defeating legislation.

"Eisenhower told us that he felt very strongly about the necessity of having no second-class citizenship for any American," White

said.

Involves Nation's Security

The leader added that Eisenhower had expressed the belief that discrimination was not only a moral and ethical question, "but one involving the security of the nation."

He added that this was a "shortcoming" being used as propaganda by the Russians and others.

White said Gen. Eisenhower promised he would do everything within his "official power to eliminate racial discrimination, segregation and injustice."

White said the possibility of appointing a Negro to a key post in the government has been expressed only in "general terms." He added that Eisenhower had expressed the highest admiration for Dr. Ralph Bunche, principal director of the UN Trusteeship division.

"General Eisenhower received the delegation most cordially," White said. "He indicated a desire to do something effective to overcome the present stalemate on civil rights and gave assurance that he would do everything within his power as president to see that all segments of the American people receive equal justice."

He expressed genuine concern about race relations in this country. He repeated his pledge to appoint competent persons to high office irrespective of race, color, religion or national origin. Further, the general expressed the desire to keep in touch with the N. A. A. C. P.

Record Of Sparkman Is Reviewed By Dr. Brisbane

BY DR. ROBERT BRISBANE

Senator John Jackson Sparkman, the Democratic nominee for vice-president, will arouse little if any enthusiasm among Negroes for the Democratic ticket during the coming campaign. This was the initial reaction of Negro Democratic leaders such as Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem and others of the 61 Negroes attending the Democratic conclave at Chicago. On the other hand, white liberals and civil rights leaders such as Hubert Humphrey, Herman H. Lehman and F. D. R., Jr., thought that Sparkman was entirely acceptable and dependable.

The point of issue for Powell and others, of course, is Sparkman's record on civil rights, and there can be no question but that he has voted with his region on this question. The truth is however, that Sparkman is not a Dixiecrat. He is a New Deal-Fair Deal liberal and this is why he is acceptable to Humphrey, Lehman and F. D. R., Jr.

During his sixteen years in the House and Senate, he has stayed away from the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition designed to stop Truman and has gone down the line for progressive legislation. His record shows that he was influential in the creation of TVA, he supported the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Acts, he took a major part in the fight for continued rent controls and in 1950 he was appointed a delegate to the Fifth General Assembly of the United Nations.

Sparkman did not support Alabama's bolt to the Dixiecrats in 1948 and he did not support the Dixiecratic ticket of Thurmond-Wright and for this he lost many friends in his state and elsewhere in the South.

In 1949 Sparkman and others after a bitter fight recaptured the Alabama Democratic Party machinery from Dixiecrat control. His record on civil rights is poor but then it should be remembered that Mr. Sparkman runs for election in Alabama constituency, and no matter what his personal feelings may have been, he would have committed political suicide anytime he has gone against the wishes of his supporters. As the vice-presidential nominee, however, Sparkman is not now running in Alabama, he is a national candidate and as such he must run on the Democratic platform which he has accepted. Mr.

Sparkman knows that he must win work of the New York, New Jersey and Connecticut state agencies against discrimination had not only been successful in expanding equality of opportunity to work, but had also done much to overcome the misgivings of employers who opposed discrimination but feared that the legislative approach would leave them open to unjustified harassment.

CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS URGED AS BOLSTER

Industry and Labor Groups at Institute Agree on Need to Supplement Education

ANSWER TO REDS ABROAD

This Factor in Combating Bias Stressed by Banker and C.I.O. Leader at Rutgers Session

BY WILL LISSNER

SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J., Aug. 1.—Substantial agreement on the controversial civil rights issue was reached by the conferees attending the second annual Institute of Teamwork in Industry, which closed here today.

After reviewing the problem of discrimination in employment and the losses caused to industry and democracy, most of the 200 men and women attending the institute concluded that fair employment practices legislation was needed to make educational programs and efforts effective.

Supporting this position were representatives of management as well as of labor among the participating business executives and workers, personnel directors and union leaders, and community relations workers and civic leaders.

Labor leaders joined with management representatives in warning against repeating past mistakes of relaxing educational efforts once anti-discrimination legislation was enacted, and against relying upon legislation alone or even primarily to eliminate bias and prejudice.

Labor spokesmen also joined the others in stressing that industry's responsibility could be discharged only by joint effort of management and labor.

Three States Commended

They also declared that the temperate approach exemplified by the

"This program has proved its value in a number of instances and I trust it will continue its good work on a broader scale," he went on.

"Let no person underestimate the price we pay for discrimination. It pollutes the lifestream of our communities. It impedes our social and economic progress. It robs us of the productive talents and energies of millions of our fellow-Americans. And it sabotages our defenses against the world-wide menace of Communist imperialism."

Overwhelming sentiment in favor of a combined program of legislation, education and action was shown in summaries of the conference sessions that comprised a large part of the agenda of the institute.

The summaries were presented by seven of the country's leading personnel and industrial relations directors, who had presided over the conference sessions. They included William B. Maloney of Esso Standard Oil Company, F. W. Brennan of Revere Copper and Brass Company, Winthrop Stevens of F. C. Huyck & Sons, Robert F. Nelson of American Type Founders, Inc., James L. MacWithey of Bristol-Myers Company, John C. Ward of Bridgeport Brass Company and Joseph J. Morrow of Pitney-Bowes, Inc.

Assisting in the analysis of the work of the conferees were Commissioner Caroline K. Simon of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, Joseph L. Bustard, Assistant Commissioner of the New Jersey State Division Against Discrimination, and John H. Eikenberg, vice president of the Revere Copper and Brass Company.

For Example to World

Mrs. Mary G. Roebeling, chairman of the board of the Trenton Trust Company, told a luncheon session that she was impressed by the unanimous agreement that the fight against discrimination and against bias and prejudice toward members of minority groups was "America's No. 1 job."

Mrs. Roebeling, who recently returned from a mission in Germany, reported that the Communists aboard were exploiting the propaganda value of the bias problem as their first and main task to weaken United States leadership in the struggle for peace through collective security.

Louis Hollander, president of the New York State Congress of Industrial Organizations, said that the National Conference of Christian and Jews, which, with Rutgers University, presented the institute, "has done a good job of encouraging plant conferences on discrimination in which labor and management cooperate."

Powell Urges All-Out Fight for Civil Rights

BY JAMES HALE

New York Congressman Adam Clayton Powell urged Atlanta Negroes Wednesday night to fight with votes and money for the controversial civil rights legislation because "it's coming to pass in this country soon and it is our job to join the fight and help speed it up."

Speaking at Wheat Street Baptist Church, Powell said "Don't let the Talmadges and Rankins fool you into believing your cause is hopeless. Fight with your minds, votes, pocketbooks and boycotts for this vital legislation because the barrier is being lowered in more and more states and some day we will have one race and one citizenship in the world."

He told the audience that crowded into the auditorium of the church that America is the most hated nation in the world today because of its hypocritical stand on principles of democracy. "It's not just the dark races of the for-

ign countries, but the majority of Anglo-Saxons themselves," he declared. He said America's attempt to buy friendship with dollars, its combination of wealth, arrogance and fears have led to this hate. "But the principal reason," he declared, "is that the non-Americans cannot understand our trying to tell foreigners to follow our leadership and Democratic ideals when he knows we don't practice democracy at home."

Powell said the greatest mistake of the past Negro operation was to allow civil rights to become monopolized by politicians. We can't continue to trod the paths of gradualism, he said, but must demand that America's moral growth catch up with its physical and technical growth.

He criticized Dwight Eisenhower for not making public his stand on civil rights. "He told me just after he was nominated that he did not have time to make a statement, although a day later he gladly took a stand on the tidal oil issue."

The New Yorker claimed Eisenhower favored desegregation in the armed forces "but now, for political reasons, he won't come

EDITORIAL

GUEST EDITORIALS—These Editorials do not necessarily reflect our opinion or policy.

Civil Rights

The issue of civil rights is an all-American issue. The problem of discrimination is neither a sectional nor a partisan problem but a national problem. The rights to which all citizens are entitled are not optional rights or partisan rights but rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution.

There is a place for state legislation and state action to guarantee the rights of citizens. There is a place also, for national legislation and national action—the place where state laws would be inadequate or where states refused to act, and where all the power of federal statutes is needed.

We have good reason to be proud of the progress we have made in our democracy in recent years in the field of civil rights. We have even better reasons to be determined to make steady progress in the future.

Civil rights, properly understood, involves no quarrel between North and South. Those who want national legislation to guarantee the rights of minority groups recognize that economic and educational discrimination are not confined to any single section. Some Northern communities have forms of discrimination against minority groups that are as real, if perhaps more subtle, than the forms of discrimination in Southern communities. The West Coast and other areas have forms of discrimination against citizens of oriental ancestry, Spanish Americans and Mexican nationals.

The question our democracy faces is how to put into practice our basic doctrine that all men are created equal—that equality of opportunity in schools and jobs and politics is the inherent right of every person regardless of race, creed or color. Civil rights is no more a partisan issue than it is a sectional issue. Many of the ablest champions of the rights of Negroes are citizens born and bred in the South, who are Democrats by heritage. Many of the opponents of civil rights legislation were born and bred in the North and are Republicans by tradition and choice.

A person's party or his section is no guarantee of his position on civil rights. It is a matter, instead, of his individual sensitivity to the rights of man.

—PAC

Truman's Civil Rights Talk

By the Associated Press

NEWARK, N. J., Oct. 21.—Following is the text of a prepared speech by President Truman here today:

I am glad to be here in Newark. I am out here today campaigning for the Democratic ticket.

This year the Democratic Party has two of the finest candidates in its entire history—Adlai Stevenson and John Sparkman.

You have a great candidate for the Senate in Archie Alexander. Return your good Democratic Congressmen, Peter Rodino and Hugh Addonizio. Elect Martin J. Fox to Congress. They will help Stevenson and Sparkman do the job you want to carry forward the great programs of economic and social welfare that have been initiated during the last 20 years.

In this campaign, the Democrats have been explaining these issues to the people. We have been trying to get the Republicans to state where they stand on the issues, too. I have been trying to smoke out the Republican candidate on some of these things that are of such concern to the people.

At last, we are getting results. Last week when the Republican candidate for President spoke here, he discussed one of these issues—the issue of civil rights. I am glad to see the Republican candidate is in favor of the principles of civil rights. But he obviously does not know the hard facts of life about this subject. He doesn't know what it takes to get something done in this field.

Says Action Requires More Than Conference

He thinks he will call a conference of governors to fix things. But I can tell you, it will take more than that to break down the barriers of prejudice.

A good deal of his speech was devoted to attacking me for not doing enough about civil rights. In my political life I have been attacked for many things. I have had a good laugh over many of them. But I have never had a better laugh than I had from the idea that I was

not doing enough about civil rights. People usually tell me I've done too much. The more you think about it, the funnier it is.

Now the Republican candidate made a particular point about segregation in the District of Columbia. He promised to end it if he becomes President.

I'm glad to see the Republican candidate is interested in this subject. But I ought to warn him that the President can't get things done in the District of Columbia simply by waving a wand.

I have been for home rule for the District for years, but I can't get Congress to agree. Nevertheless, we are making a lot of progress in civil rights in the District of Columbia.

Today, in the theaters, hotels and restaurants of the District of Columbia, segregation and discrimination are on the way out.

In the colleges and universities of the District, and in private schools, both secondary and elementary, hundreds of Negro students are enrolled where there were none five years ago.

The parks and playgrounds operated by the Interior Department in Washington are completely unsegregated, as they have been for more than 10 years.

The parks and playgrounds operated by the District of Columbia in Washington are being progressively integrated.

Only last month, integration of some of our new housing projects was announced.

Just this year, the Medical Association of the District of Columbia opened its membership to qualified Negro physicians. Other professional groups have done the same thing.

My friends, some of these steps are big steps. They are all steps forward, not backward; and they represent action, not talk.

There are some Republicans who believe in civil rights. I understand you have one of them as Governor of New Jersey. But that is no reason for you to elect, as President, a Republican who thinks it is impossible to use Federal power

put Adlai Stevenson in the White House.

of the candidates. Look at both of the parties. Look at their platforms. See which one really means business on civil rights and which one is just looking for votes.

The Democratic Party and its candidates are the ones you can count on to advance human freedom. Vote Democratic and

in Adlai Stevenson, who moved with the National Guard to stop the Cicero riots—who abolished segregation in the Illinois National Guard by executive order—who eliminated race from the Illinois State Employment Service forms—and who helped end segregation in the Illinois public schools? Don't be fooled. Look at both

to insure fair employment practices. That is no reason to elect a Republican candidate who says that a certain amount of segregation is necessary in the armed forces, because under integration the competition is too tough for Negroes. Why put a man in the White House who only wants to call a conference, when you can put

Technicality Rebuffs Mobilians In Fight For Civil Service Exams

NEW ORLEANS—A civil rights suit brought by a group of Alabama Negroes was dismissed by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on grounds that state remedies had not been exhausted by the plaintiffs.

The suit had previously been filed in the U. S. District Court at Mobile seeking to force the Mobile County Personnel Board to give Negroes examinations for positions as Mobile policemen and firemen.

The Circuit Court decision upheld the District court ruling that state administrative remedies must be exhausted before a civil rights case can be brought into federal court.

Negroes filing the suit were Handy L. Davis, John F. Gray, William F. Jones, Oscar Murphy, John Langham and Clarence Carson.

They charged that their civil rights under the 14th amendment of the U. S. Constitution were violated when they applied for, and were refused, examination blanks

for qualifying as policemen and firemen. They claimed the refusal was based on race and color.

Named as defendants in the suit were Fred Arn, J. E. Patterson and Lon B. Moreland, members of the personnel board of Mobile County, and H. T. Pillans, director of the board.

The Circuit Court said the plaintiffs did not say to whom they applied for blanks and who refused them.

Their resort to federal court was "premature," the Circuit Court decision held.

Big Progress Made On Segregation Here, President Declares

Eisenhower Warned
Issue Can't Be Solved
By Waving Wand

By Staff Correspondent of The Star

NEWARK, N. J., Oct. 21.—

President Truman declared here today that "a lot of progress" is

being made in advancing the principle of civil rights in the District of Columbia—but he scoffed at the promise of Gen. Eisenhower to end segregation in the Nation's Capital if he goes to the White House.

Campaigning by outo through New Jersey, the President recalled

Text of Truman's Civil Rights Talk at Newark. Page A-3

the G. O. P. presidential candidate's discussion of the civil rights issue in this area last week, then continued:

"Now the Republican candidate made a particular point about segregation in the District of Columbia. He promised to end it if he becomes President.

Wand Waving Futile.

"I'm glad to see the Republican candidate is interested in this subject. But I ought to warn him that the President can't get things done in the District of Columbia simply by waving a wand.

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"In the colleges and universities of the District and in private schools, both secondary and elementary, hundreds of Negro students are enrolled where there were none five years ago.

Parks and Playgrounds Cited.

"The parks and playgrounds operated by the Interior Department in Washington are completely unsegregated, as they have been for more than 10 years.

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"Only last month, integration of some of our new housing projects was announced.

"Just this year, the Medical Association of the District of Colum-

bia opened its membership to qualified Negro physicians. Other professional groups have done the same thing.

"My friends, some of these steps are big steps. They are all steps forward, not backward; and they represent action, not talk."

POWELL RENEWS ATTACKS

Scorches Candidates of Both Parties on Civil Rights Issues

Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., the Harlem Democrat who has advocated a more forthright position on civil rights by Presidential candidates, yesterday accused Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower of having failed to "take a stand against segregation in the United States Army."

Mr. Powell labeled as "double-talk" recent statements by the Republican candidate and the two top candidates of his own party on the subject of a Fair Employment Practices Commission and other measures affecting Negroes.

He criticized Gov. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois for "not taking a forthright stand on closure" against filibuster and observed that a closure plank was in the Democratic platform. He said he would confer with Governor Stevenson and "urge him to change his views as regards breaking filibusters so that they will be in accordance with the party platform."

Record Shows How Both Voted On Civil Rights

NEW YORK—The civil rights records of the Democratic and Republican vice presidential nominees as indicated by their votes on the issues in the House of Representatives and in the Senate were made public last week by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in accordance with directives of the Association's national convention.

Both John J. Sparkman of Alabama, the Democratic candidate, and Richard Nixon of California, the Republican, have served in both Houses of Congress. Accordingly, they have had ample opportunity to vote upon various civil rights issues.

The NAACP survey deals only with civil rights issues such as the filibuster, the House Rules Committee, FEPC, segregation, the poll tax and anti-lynching. Such tangential issues as labor, social welfare, civil liberties and foreign affairs are not included in the survey.

TWO VITAL ISSUES

In releasing the records, Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, indicated that the vital civil rights issues are (1) the filibuster with test votes on cloture, the Barkley ruling, and the House Rules Committee; and (2) the FEPC. "While other record votes are important," Mr. Wilkins said "they are not as important as these two basic issues. Unless bills are permitted to come to a vote, we can have no legislation and, of course, an FEPC with enforcement powers, is essential to our economic security."

Senator Sparkman has served in Congress since 1936, first as a member of the House of Representatives and, since 1946, as a senator. The NAACP survey covers his legislative record for the 10-year period, 1942-52.

After serving two terms in the House to which he was first elected in 1946, Mr. Nixon was elected to the Senate in 1950. His record for the six-year period is covered by the survey.

The score as revealed by the survey follows:

For Civil Rights:

Sparkman 0; Nixon 3.

Against Civil Rights:

Sparkman 16; Nixon 4.

SPARKMAN'S 10-YEAR RECORD

Senator Sparkman's record in the Senate follows:

Against protection of servicemen from assaults by civilians and local police, March 7, 1951.

For continuing the anti-FEPC filibuster, May 19 and July 12, 1950.

For segregation in the armed forces, June 21, 1950.

Against the Barkley ruling which

would have permitted limitation of debate on motions to take up a measure as well as on the measure, March 11, 1949.

For the Wherry-Hayden resolution requiring 64 votes to stop a Senate filibuster, March 17, 1949.

Against prohibition of segregation in public housing, April 21, 1949.

Against withholding of federal funds from jim crow schools systems, May 3, 1949.

For ratification of the regional compact to establish segregated regional colleges, May 13, 1948.

Against an anti-lynching measure to protect members of the armed services, June 7, 1948.

Against the abolition of segregation in the armed services, June 7, 1948.

And against relieving servicemen of the obligation to pay a poll tax to participate in federal elections, June 7, 1948.

In the House he voted:

Against prohibition of discrimination in the disbursement of funds for the school lunch program, February 21, 1946.

Against abolition of the poll tax June 12, 1945, May 25, 1943 and October 13, 1942.

And for the dismissal of William Pickens, February 9, 1943, former NAACP official, from his position in the Treasury Department because the House un-American Activities Committee had unjustly accused him of subversive activities.

NIXON'S 6-YEAR RECORD

Senator Nixon's record in the Senate follows:

Against protection of servicemen from assaults by civilians and local police.

And (as a committee member) against reporting the Ives-Humphrey FEPC bill out of the Senate Labor and Education Committee, June 24, 1952.

In the House he voted:

Against curbing the power of the Rules Committee to block civil rights legislation, January 20, 1950.

Against an FEPC bill with enforcement powers, February 22, 1950.

For prohibition of segregation in the SPARS, April 4, 1949.

For abolition of the poll tax, July 26, 1949 and July 21, 1947.



REVIEWING THE NEWS

By WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor Atlanta Daily World

Why Southern Politicians Fight Against Civil Rights

Even though the Democratic platform may have been watered down in some respects in order to satisfy some people who still make big business out of politics for selfish and sectional gains, the part on civil rights, even though a step backwards to a certain extent, may add up in the final analysis to be a mark of advance for minorities.

Just why some Southerners still fight so viciously against the enactment of a civil rights platform in the Democratic party adds up to the following reasons:

First of all, it is still big business for some Southern politicians to keep the races divided on as many levels as possible. It is still to their advantage to keep confusion and distrust among the people in order that they might obtain their own purposes.

The issue of state's rights, something that has been thrown around for some time now, is merely a means of telling the people that the Southern politicians don't want unity and progress in the South. There is still the heritage of the semi-feudalistic pattern of classism which is designed to throw one group in a higher economic bracket and the other in a lower level of income. Keeping people economically handicapped, an ultimate desire on the part of many politicians, is still strongly practiced in the South.

The fact that politicians don't want a strong central government, is not so much for the fact that they dislike centralized control, but for what centralized control will do against their own economic welfare.

We have witnessed for the past 20 years a type of economic security never dreamed of by any nation. Under what is labeled centralized control, we have gained for the rank and file of the population the highest standard of living ever before seen in the world. Under this same type of control which Southerners are still fighting the "civil war" over, Negroes and whites as well have advanced in all fields of economic security. More people have been employed and the so-called "bread and soup lines" have vanished from the American scene.

Minorities in particular in this country, have advanced with recognition and the status of "second class" citizenship has been definitely on its way out.

The fields of medicine, health and education along with housing, all have advanced under the administration which has been strongly for centralized control.

We can only see the following reasons for the strong Southern feeling against civil rights in the South. Politicians in the South still want to keep people ignorant and backward for fear whites and Negroes might wake up and realize that they have one common interest. Once this is done, there will be more jobs for the people who thrive on prejudice and hate.

On the other hand, the Southern politician hates civil rights

because under a strong platform of this type, he will be forced to do away with "second-class" citizenship, eliminate bigotry, give justice to all regardless of race and be forced to stand back and out of the way of progress and decency.

Democratic Party Nails Down Strong Civil Rights Plank

By International News Service

CHICAGO — (INS) — Democratic platform-writers late last night had hurdled the civil rights issue and paved the way for possible adoption of the 1952 party platform by the convention delegates.

Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and New York's Senator Lehman were quick to praise the civil rights pledge as a "strong plank" while one Southerner, Burkett Murphy, platform committee member from Georgia, was critical.

Murphy told newsmen as he entered the closed-door session, "I do not like anything about anything" in the anti-discrimination plank. He added that he was considering filing a minority report.

Spokesmen of Americans for Democratic Action, who vowed previously that they would not compromise their demands for a strong civil rights program, said they will go along with the watered-down pledge.

The proposal was adopted by the platform-drafting subcommittee in a 10-hour, all-night session.

Senator Russell of Georgia said some of his Southern backers for the presidential nomination probably do not like everything in the plank, but that his advisers believe it will not cause a walkout.

Senator Magnuson of Washington told the convention the civil rights plank is "no retreat from 1948." Other members of the drafting committee fighting to get the pledge adopted took the same view.

Senator Humphrey, drafter of the 1948 anti-discrimination plank, said the resolution adopted by the subcommittee "looks good to me."

Another strong civil rights advocate, New York's Senator Lehman, praised the civil rights pledge as a "strong plank."

Lehman said he might offer amendments in the resolution committee but added that he does not

expect a convention floor fight.

The plank favors federal legislation to secure for everyone: (1) "The right of equal opportunity for employment;" (2) "the right to security of persons" (an antilynch provision); (3) "the right to full and equal participation in the nation's political life, free from arbitrary restraints."

The plank also supports legislation to "perfect existing federal civil rights statutes and to strengthen the administrative machinery for the protection of civil rights."

A labor plank adopted by the subcommittee calls for a new law to prevent strikes that threaten national security and, as in 1948, demands repeal of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act.

The foreign policy plank promises continuing aid to the free peoples of the world.

The Democratic Civil Rights plank as tentatively hammered out avoids offending the South by any demand for a compulsory, or, as Sen. Russell calls it, "jail-sentence" Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission.

The Democrats call for municipal, state and federal guarantees of equal opportunities to all citizens, regardless of race, color or creed, in employment, voting rights, in the armed services, and in personal security.

This compares with the Republican pronouncement that:

"We believe it is the primary responsibility of each state of order and control its own domestic institutions, and this power, reserved to the states, is essential to the maintenance of our federal republic."

"However, we believe that the federal government should take supplemental action within its constitutional jurisdiction to oppose discrimination against race, religion or national origin."

The Democrats called for a generalized anti-filibuster pledge on the Civil Rights issue. There is no mention in the GOP platform of the filibuster, traditional southern weapon for talking civil rights laws to death in the senate.

Civil Rights And The Campaign Candidates' Stand On Rights

This paper earnestly hopes that the provocative issue presented by President Truman's specific civil rights proposals will not become a major factor in the forthcoming months of the presidential campaign. But views on that subject have strong political connotations and effects. Feelings on both sides about the Truman proposals are very intense.

It is evident that the Republican platform writers had a very difficult time with this plank and that they came up with a somewhat indefinite pronouncement, which perhaps is the broadly wise and realistic course. Those who believe that progress in this field will best be made by moderate, voluntary means rather than by bitter controversy and conflict will doubtless see much to be said for the Republican plank, which looks first to the states for the protection of the rights in question, but promises federal action, if needed, without saying whether it would be compulsory or voluntary.

On the other hand, those who ardently advocate compulsory federal action to prevent minority discrimination in employment, to combat lynching and to end the poll tax in federal elections, are, of course, for the most part critical of the Republican plank.

And there will be those among the Democrats who will be urging that their party plank be much more specific in its endorsement of the president's proposals. *wed. 7-16-52*

Now without aspersing the many who hold this view in honest conviction, still it is obvious that the political potentialities of the issue are great.

In certain sections of the North many votes can be gained, it is argued, if the Democratic civil rights plank uncompromisingly follows Mr. Truman's specific proposals. On the other hand, such action would be certain to cost the party heavily—perhaps even decisively—in the South.

Just how these opposing political arguments will finally influence the Democratic civil rights plank we do not know.

Sen. Russell said this week that he believes that a declaration will be adopted which will not be wholly pleasing either to the South or to the "extreme liberals," but that a platform will be adopted "that we can all stand on." That, we would think, will be the objective of the victory strategists. But whether it can be attained is doubtful.

If it is, the result doubtless will seem as indefinite and vague in some respects as the Republican plank.

But even the supporters of the Truman proposals in the party will not be unmindful

that the South will probably be critically needed in November, what with Eisenhower sure to run strong in the East, in the Middle West and in the Far West.

The traditional support for the Democrats from this part of the country will not be carelessly tossed away.

Men like Russell, Hill, Sparkman and others will be fighting hard to obtain a moderate, compromise plank.

But, of course, political considerations, much as they may figure in the decision, will not be the only influences. Convictions and principles will also be strong factors—at least we hope so. And wisdom, we believe, clearly calls for the utmost efforts to deal with such problems by voluntary means in reason and good will. That would be best for the country and for the cause of civil rights.

Admits GOP Dixiecrat Conspiracy

JACKSON, Miss. — A Dixiecrat solon predicted last week that the greatest force blocking passage of civil rights legislation in Congress will remain the coalition of Southern Democrats and reactionary Republicans.

Mississippi's Sen. John Stennis boasted that a Senate coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans is the focal point of the South's political power.

"Regardless of the outcome of the election, be it General Eisenhower or Governor Stevenson, this conservative force will continue to operate on the Senate floor," Stennis said.

His frankness in admitting that this alliance exists in the Senate was totally unexpected.

Stennis is campaigning for reelection in November.

Scored By Negro Leaders

ATLANTA, April 20 (AP) — Representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said today none of the avowed presidential candidates has yet "demonstrated any genuine concern for civil rights."

And they said flatly that Georgia's Sen. Richard B. Russell and Oklahoma's Sen. Robert Kerr are unacceptable to Negro voters. Both are seeking the Democratic nomination.

Fifty delegates from six Southern states concluded a two-day political action institute sponsored by the NAACP.

Statement Adopted

The group adopted a statement which gave this run-down on some of the presidential hopefuls:

"General of the Army Eisenhower is in record in defense of segregation in the Army. He has not publicly disavowed his testimony in 1948 before the Senate Armed Services Committee in support of dualism in the Army.

"Sen. Taft (R-Ohio) has clearly indicated that he is opposed to an FEPC (fair employment practices commission) law with enforcement power. In addition, he is openly courting the Dixiecrats.

"Gov. Earl Warren has given lip service to civil rights but has failed to deliver in his home state of California.

"Of Gen. MacArthur, the less said the better.

"The picture on the Democratic side is equally gloomy. Save for his position on the anti-poll tax bills, Sen. Kefauver (D-Tenn) has voted with other senators from this region (the South) against cloture and other civil rights measures.

"Sen. Russell, of course, is not seriously considered by anyone who recognized the grave moral blight of enforced racial segregation.

Compromise Spurred

"Despite a recent disavowal, Sen. Kerr has done nothing to indicate that he is not wholeheartedly in agreement with the Dixiecrats on racial and economic issues.

"A 'compromise' ticket with a Northern 'liberal' for President and Sen. Russell for vice president will not be acceptable. Should the Democrats nominate such a slate they can kiss the Negro vote goodbye. The inclusion of any such Southerner as Russell or Kerr on the ticket of either party will alienate not only the Negro vote, but also that of other racial and religious minorities, of independent liberals, and of many trade unionists."

The Negro leaders also called for a drive to register two million

Negro voters in the South to "help avert the disaster of a triumph by the Dixiecrat forces."

Delegates were here from Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Texas

GOP Hit For Cover-Up On Civil Rights Record

NEW JERSEY'S Republican governor, Alfred E. Driscoll, was warned last week that he can't "cover up the miserable civil rights record of the Republican party."

Driscoll "will have to shout much louder than he has" to hide the record, Arthur Chapin, State CIO civil rights director, said in condemning the governor's claim that "the Republican record in civil rights was based on action rather than words."

"What Driscoll means, of course, is inaction," Chapin said.

Citing the record of Republican Sen. Smith of New Jersey and two Jersey GOP congressmen, Arthur H. Cross and Eaton, the CIO official charged they had "consistently voted against civil rights in Congress."

He added, "of course, Driscoll is aware of this."

Chapin also checked the voting record of Senator Nixon, GOP vice-presidential candidate, and found a solid listing of anti-civil rights votes.

Federal-State Civil-Rights Action Urged

Stevenson Raps Middle-of-Gutter Stand by Ike

By The Associated Press

New York, Aug. 28.—Adlai Stevenson endorsed tonight a proposal for federal-state action on civil rights and flung a "middle-of-the-gutter" taunt at Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The Democratic presidential nominee said in a speech at the New York State Liberal Party convention that he supports proposed legislation by Senators Humphrey of Minnesota and Lehman of New York setting up State anti-job-discrimination standards with provisions for the Federal Government to step in if the states don't act.

The Illinois Governor brought up again, as he did in yesterday's speech to the American Legion, attacks made by Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) on General George C. Marshall. McCarthy has accused Marshall, old friend and military sponsor of Eisenhower, of participation in a "conspiracy of infamy" against the country.

Doesn't Envy Ike

Eisenhower, the G.O.P. presidential nominee, has said he would support McCarthy—if McCarthy should be renominated—but has said he would give no blanket endorsement to McCarthy's views.

"I don't envy the general, having to listen to all the conflicting advice about how to treat the slanderers of his dear friend and senior officer, General Marshall," Stevenson said.

"You can tell the size of a man by the size of the thing that makes him mad, and I hope that, regardless of my own political advantage, the matter is not finally resolved by those who favor what has been described as the middle-of-the gutter approach."

Eisenhower has said he would

not deal in personalities in the campaign, but Stevenson did not hesitate to go after the general.

Says Situation Ironic

The Democratic nominee said he thought it was "ironic, but nonetheless revealing, that my distinguished opponent feels compelled to prove that he was innocent of any association with Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman."

Eisenhower has said he did not share in any of the postwar policy decisions at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, which other Republicans have attacked vigorously.

Noting that the voters elected Roosevelt four times and Truman once, Stevenson said he understood his opponent's trepidation. "Joe McCarthy may get him if he doesn't watch out," Stevenson declared.

Kroll Predicts Victory

The Democratic nominee, in a busy day of conferences, got assurances from C.I.O. leaders, among others, that they will support his campaign. Jack Kroll, head of the C.I.O.'s Political Action Committee, predicted a Stevenson victory in November.

Stevenson saw New York City officials briefly, talked with Democratic congressmen and other leaders, and arranged to have breakfast tomorrow with Bernard M. Baruch, an adviser to many presidents, is not in favor now at the White House. Stevenson's gesture in having breakfast with Baruch was interpreted in some quarters as another indication that Stevenson does not want to become too closely linked with Truman in the campaign.

Broad Support Claimed

The Governor told a luncheon of Stevenson Volunteer Club members he believes the Democrats have a broad base of support among the voters and are not the creature of any individual group.

He told the Liberal Party tonight he probably would be accused of becoming a captive of that group. The Liberal Party was formed in 1944, breaking away from the left-wing American Labor Party. The Liberal Party, which is supporting Stevenson, often holds the balance of power in New York State elections.

With tongue in cheek, Stevenson told the members:

"I have, of course, read about you in the public writings of certain columnists and I am aware that you are dangerous characters. As you know, I am alleged to be in a state of multiple captivity and you either are or soon will be on my list of distinguished jailors."

Says There's No Mystery

There isn't any mystery about his program, Stevenson said.

"I am running on the Democratic platform," he said. "I am for it; I will fight for it, and I expect to win on it."

In discussing the difference between the Republican and Democratic platforms, Stevenson said:

"The real question is whether a platform represents the clicking of a ghost's typewriter or the beating of a human heart."

Tearing into the Republican platform, Stevenson said a G.O.P. member has to listen "with a stiff upper lip while his candidate calls for those greater social gains which a few minutes before were wild-eyed socialism."

Raps 'Liberal Hour'

"The season when Republican hearts regularly throb with such thoughts is, of course, the autumn of a presidential year," he declared. "This is indeed a truly remarkable interval, a sort of pause in the Republican occupation that should be known as the liberal hour. It is not to be confused with any period when Congress is in session."

Everything Eisenhower has accomplished in serving his country, Stevenson said, "is imperiled by many men who propose to ride to Washington on his train."

"They are the men," he said, "who hunt Communists in the Bureau of Wildlife and Fisheries while hesitating to aid the gallant men and women who are resisting the real thing in the front lines of Europe and Asia."

Stevenson took another dig at Eisenhower in his speech at the Democratic State Convention. Some Republicans, he said, have been talking as if he were ashamed of Administration accomplishments in the past 20 years. He said the Republicans were trying "by some miraculous agility" to embrace and condemn Democratic accomplishments.

"I have been tempted to say that I was proud to stand on that record, if only the general would move over and make room for

me," Stevenson declared.

Praises Sparkman

He said he did not feel the need, "so understandably felt by my very distinguished opponent, of having my campaign manager say that I will write my own platform."

Stevenson praised the record of Senator Sparkman of Alabama, the vice-presidential nominee. On the other hand, Stevenson said, Senator Nixon of California opposed in the Senate Labor Committee a bill under which the Federal Government could step in if individual states failed to act to prevent job discrimination.

Outlining his own views on this issue, Stevenson said:

"In the case of equal opportunity for employment, I believe that it is not alone the duty, but the enlightened interest, of each state to develop its own positive employment-practices program—a program adapted to local conditions, emphasizing education and conciliation, and providing for judicial enforcement."

"I think the time has come to talk sensibly about how we can make more progress in this field, rather than how we can make more votes."

Congress in Review

Record of Legislature on Civil Rights Is Criticized

The writer of the following letter is director of the commission on law and social action of the American Jewish Congress.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The adjournment of the Eighty-second Congress, which failed even to debate, let alone enact, a single civil rights measure, emphasizes the miserable record of the Congress in this area.

The major civil rights bills failed even to reach the floor of either Senate or House. The fair employment practice bill was not even scheduled for committee hearings in the House and was reported by a Senate committee on June 24, obviously too late for consideration by this Congress. The defeatism of the liberal Senatorial bloc is indicated by the failure even to introduce the F. E. P. C. bill until June 25, 1951, almost six months after the first session had begun.

The same sorry tale is true for the

anti-lynching bill—introduced late; no hearings held or other committee action taken. There, too, the record of this Congress is worse even than the Eightieth or Eighty-first Congress, each of which saw a Senate committee report a bill. The anti-poll tax bill followed the same pattern of inaction. Yet in 1949 the House had passed such a measure only to see it die in committee in the Senate.

Miserable Showing

How miserable the record of this session has been is reflected in the fact that the only advances which can be noted were two provisions in the McCarran-Walter omnibus immigration act, a measure which President Truman in his veto message described as "utterly unworthy of our traditions and our ideals."

The main stumbling block to civil rights legislation is the anachronistic Rule 22 of the Senate, which requires the affirmative vote of two-thirds of all the elected members of the Senate to limit debate, a requirement without parallel in any national or State Legislature (except Alabama). This rule, which facilitates filibusters and the almost equally effective threat of filibusters, is responsible for the failure of Congress to enact a single civil rights measure since 1875. The poll tax bill was filibustered by four successive Senates after it passed the House (1942, 1944, 1946 and 1948). The anti-lynching bill met a similar fate in 1922, 1935 and 1938. The F. E. P. C. bill collided with a fatal filibuster in 1946 and 1950.

Yet the Senate this year failed even to take action on a mild improvement in Rule 22, reported by the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, which would require two-thirds of the Senators present (and not of the total body) to impose cloture.

Filibuster Threat

This potent threat of filibuster in a congested calendar was sufficient to keep from the Senate floor the Alaska and Hawaii statehood bills reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. The disenfranchised citizens of the District of Columbia will continue without home rule, for the House failed to take action on the District Home Rule and Reorganization Bill, although it passed the Senate in January, 1952. The remaining civil rights bills recommended by President Truman in his historic Civil Rights Message of Feb. 2,

1948, received no attention at all. A permanent commission on civil rights, the expansion of the ineffectual Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, the strengthening of the antiquated civil rights laws dating back to the post-Civil War period, the prohibition of discrimination and segregation in interstate travel, federal protection of the right to vote, particularly against racial barriers, all slumbered peacefully in committee in both houses.

The legislative record since the epochal report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights issued on Oct. 29, 1947, which recommended no less than twenty-five federal statutes, is indeed a miserable one. Absolute racial barriers to naturalization or immigration have been lifted, a statute has been passed to settle the evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans resulting from the wartime evacuation and some progress has been made in allowing an increasing measure of self-government for Puerto Rico and Guam. All the remaining recommendations still await Congressional approval.

Black as the outlook is for civil rights legislation, there are three promising developments. Civil rights has become a major political issue; the Negro vote, enjoying a potential balance of power in key states with large electoral votes, is being courted more assiduously than ever before; and the national civil rights groups, better organized than they ever have been before, are working in concert to achieve their aims.

Only if this ferment results in fresh blood in the next Congress, or at least fresh ideas for those re-elected, is there any substantial hope that the United States will continue its historic role of furnishing moral leadership to the democratic world and achieving its historic goal—full equality in a free society.

WILL MASLOW.

New York, July 4, 1952.

Civil Rights are Human Rights

ANY person who is against civil rights is also against a democracy.

Basically, civil rights have their roots in human rights, and human rights are not man-made, but God-given.

"No law or government or political party has the moral right to deny Negroes that which it cannot give, namely, human rights, of which civil rights are a constitutional manifestation.

"The enactment of civil rights legislation and even constitutional guarantees of civil rights merely recognize human rights that inhere in the fact of being human; not only of Negroes but of whites, Catholics, Protestants, and Jewish persons.

"Human rights exist prior to and independent of constitution and laws...

"When any person in public life stands against civil rights for Negroes or other minorities, he actually takes a stand against human rights and the dignity of the human personality, a cardinal principle of the Judeo-Christian ethic."—The Black Worker, official publication of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Truman Hails Adlai's Civil Rights Record

Harlem Told Ike Would Turn Back Clock; GOP Nominee Hit for 'New Isolationism'

By RUSSELL PORTER

New York Times News Service, Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

NEW YORK, Oct. 11—President Truman delivered two major addresses here Saturday in his campaign to elect Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, Democratic candidate for President, and a Democratic Congress.

In the afternoon he journeyed into Harlem and called upon its Negro population to rally behind him on the ground that only a Democratic victory could guarantee "continued progress toward full civil rights for all Americans." He called Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Republican candidate, merely a "front man" for Republican forces of reaction which would "turn back the clock" in civil rights.

Saturday night, speaking at a Columbus Day dinner in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, Mr. Truman repeated the attacks he had made on Eisenhower during the President's two-week whistle-stop tour across the country. The President denounced Eisenhower Saturday night all along the line.

In domestic policies he charged the general with surrendering to

the "special interest lobbies," and in foreign policies of favoring a "new kind of internationalism" which says "yes, we are part of the world—but not if it costs much money."

IN HIS HARLEM speech, the President pledged himself to carry on his fight for federal fair employment practice legislation with enforcement power.

The President labeled the civil rights plank in the Republican platform "the lousiest plank you ever read." He also charged Eisenhower with having been both "morally and militarily wrong" in defending (while still in uniform) "a certain amount of segregation in the Army."

If the Republicans win, said Mr. Truman, the progress in civil rights which he claimed for his

own administration would be "in grave danger." Republican policies reducing civil rights, he asserted, would likewise lead the country back into depression. He also linked his civil rights program with the preservation of world peace.

THE PRESIDENT spoke before a large crowd, composed mostly of Negroes, Saturday afternoon at Dorrance Brooks Park, after receiving for the second time the annual Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Brotherhood award for contributions to human rights.

Mr. Truman spoke at this meeting between automobile trips through the heart of Harlem, and up and down Manhattan between Harlem and the Biltmore Hotel.

How does President Truman's present whistle-stop campaign in support of Democratic presidential nominee Adlai Stevenson compare with the one of four years ago on his own behalf? Journal-Constitution Washington Bureau writer Dick Cull makes the comparison on Page 1F.

where he has stayed since arriving here Friday night.

He received a warm welcome from large crowds both in Harlem and along Fifth Avenue, Broadway, and the other streets he passed through. Estimates of the crowd in Dorrance Brooks Park varied from 20,000 to 100,000.

MR. TRUMAN was loudly and frequently applauded at the Harlem rally. The crowd broke in on his speech with applause 36 times.

Mr. Truman began by pledging himself to continue fighting for "the end of racial injustice and unfair discrimination." Then he reviewed civil-rights achievements he claimed for his administration. He stressed:

The 1947 report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Action to stop racial discrimination in the armed services.

Establishment of a fair-employment board in the Civil Service Commission.

ADOPTION OF fair-employment practices programs by all federal agencies.

Successful legal fights by the federal government to open state colleges and universities to Negroes on an equal basis with

whites, and to free Negroes and Jews from restrictive real estate covenants.

Opening of public housing projects to Negroes. Investigation of lynchings and Ku Klux Klan groups by the FBI and prosecution by the Justice department.

Mr. Truman also praised Stevenson for his civil-rights record, citing:

Restoration of order by the National Guard after last year's anti-Negro demonstration at Cicero, Ill.

Abolition of segregation in the Illinois National Guard and public schools.

Elimination of race specification from Illinois employment service forms.

STRONG, THOUGH unsuccessful fight for fair-employment legislation in Illinois.

"The Democratic Party," Mr. Truman asserted, "has taken the greatest forward steps (in civil rights) since the abolition of slavery. The Democratic platform this year contains the strongest civil rights plank ever adopted by any political party in this country."

The President did not mention Sen. John J. Sparkman of Alabama, Democratic candidate for vice-president, whose civil rights record has been attacked by the Republicans, but he assured his audience they could trust the Democratic candidates not to let them down on civil rights.

MR. TRUMAN said his administration had achieved what it had in civil rights over the opposition of the Republicans in Congress, whom he blamed for the defeat of his Fair Employment Practices Commission plan, antilynch law and antipoll-tax laws.

He attacked the Republican Party as controlled by "greedy interests" who are "not interested in civil rights." Pouring it on Eisenhower, the President taunted him for refusing to "pledge effective action for assuring equal rights for all our citizens," and for "touring the South to woo the Dixiecrats into the Republican fold."

Waring Calls For New View On Civil Rights

Retired Judge Hits Row Over Past Acts

By J. WATIES WARING

(Retired U. S. District Judge)

I had the opportunity of hearing the speech recently delivered by President Truman at the Commencement exercises of Howard university in Washington, D. C. And I have read with great interest a number of editorial comments made on this speech. I regret that most of these comments seem to discuss the speech from a partisan political angle only, and the main thought in the editorial minds appears to be whether President Truman is entitled to credit for the advances made in the attainment of Civil Rights in this country or whether he is to be blamed for failure to do more.

It seems to me that the time is past for us to be greatly concerned with where the credit should be awarded. Wouldn't it be better for us in these times of world crises to let the matter of credit for past performance be taken care of by the writers of history, and concern ourselves primarily with ascertaining definitely the views of those who solicit our suffrage and with discussing through our political platforms the courses that must be pursued by whomsoever we may choose to occupy positions of power in this country?

The matter of full Civil Rights

to all of our citizens, irrespective of any religious or racial test or accident of birth, is one of the foundation stones of our national life. It was, in fact, one of the most important reasons for the formation of our country and so declared in our Declaration of Independence and was contemplated in our Constitution. It is true, of course, that certain parts of this country continued to maintain the practice of human slavery and held firmly to the belief that such was allowable under our form of government. We had four years of bloody war to answer this question, and then, the nation decided unequivocally that human slavery must go and that full equality under the law and full protection to all our citizens should be recognized and respected by the people and by the states; and this was declared by the adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

Unfortunately, there was never complete compliance. And, unfortunately, through timidity, expediency and compromise, the full intent of these amendments has never been carried out or honestly followed. But the time has now arrived when we must look to the future. It is true, as President Truman has stated, that the committee which he appointed and its report on Civil Rights, laid down

a comprehensive chart which, if properly followed, would bring about true equality of citizenship.

The President has a right to point with pride to this and to call upon the Congress to implement the committee's recommendations by appropriate legislation. Whether or not the executive department has fully lived up to its obligations to carry out the recommendations of the report, is a question that has been raised by many people. But that is a matter of credit or blame and we must look to the future, rather than the past. We cannot be satisfied that certain advances have been made. These should and are properly to be referred to as showing achievements recently made and showing particularly, how well they have worked. To name but a few Great advances have been made even in the Deep South by breaking down the private club or white primary device by which Negroes for many years were prevented from voting in the Deep South; and in the elimination of segregation in the graduate schools and colleges; and in banning the enforcement of the covenants affecting real estate. But, these and other advances have been made as the result of legal action taken by organizations from the North, such as the NAACP, who are interested in removing the source of segregation and in bringing about full equality without racial discrimination.

These advances have been brought about within the present framework of the Federal Constitution and by effective court decisions. In the executive branch some integration has been brought about in the Armed Services and some in departmental organizations, but there is much yet to be desired, and some of us wonder how sincere has been the

effort of those departmental heads and military commanders who have had the power to do something and have postponed and evaded.

Were those who advocate gradualism and would postpone the granting of full civil rights to all citizens, themselves affected by this cruel and even barbarous treatment, they would see to it that their representatives in government act promptly and sincerely to give them their full rights and dignity. When it is one's own mother or father, wife or husband, or children or grandchildren who are suffering injustice and shame—those whose ox is gored—then they cease to debate or quibble with sophistries, but demand justice and respect now, not later or gradually. "Justice delayed is justice denied."

If America is to be true to its expressed ideals, it must act and act now, and both political parties in this year of a presidential campaign should take positive action by adopting planks in their respective platforms guaranteeing full civil rights and promising definite positive action by the federal government—first, by executive action for immediate integration and abrogation of all racial bars or bans or designations, and secondly, by having the Congress of the United States enact appropriate legislation for the breaking down of all restrictions or discriminations and all forms of separation or segregation because of racial origin. Of course, in order to carry out such a program, the Congress must adopt rules and procedure which will allow it to return to an orderly method of considering and passing upon public business.

The present method of obstructing Congressional business by the use of filibusters or by the use

of the device of burying proposed legislation in committees, must be reformed, and the Congress must put itself in a position where matters of public importance can be introduced, can be considered, and can after full and fair debate, be passed upon their merits rather than shelved by some parliamentary trick or device.

I believe that this country has come to realize that the concept of national citizenship is not an ideal empty term, but that the concept of citizenship means and carries with it the responsibility of national action which can be brought about only by action of the federal government. Why do we have the sorry spectacle of both great political parties apparently being afraid of a small group of dissident politicians motivated solely by sectional desire to perpetuate the outmoded system of white supremacy.

The Dixiecratic group is small and should be treated as unimportant, as it really is. Instead of this group dictating to either or both of the national parties, it should be told to follow in line, or if it desires to carry on its un-American dogma, then to form a third party and surrender the seniority and recognition now accorded to those of its members who still masquerade as true members of political parties with those basic aims and beliefs they have no real part or interest.

We of this country found that we could not appease or compromise with the German Nazis in their policy of Nordic superiority, and we have now come to realize that we have been unable to appease or compromise with the Red Communist overlords. And so, why do we still think that we can do business with the white supremacists who arrogate to themselves the "right" to deny the equal protection of the laws to certain groups of our citizens, measuring the amount of protection of the laws to certain groups of our citizens, measuring the amount of protection by the pigmentation of the skin?

It is important that both political parties stop playing precinct politics with this important issue. The guarantee of Civil Rights to all of our citizens must be carried

through if we are to remain true to our Declaration of Independence and to the mandates of our Constitution. And if we are to practice truly the precepts which we preach, and if we are to show to the other peoples of the world that our own professed democracy is a true one, then we must act accordingly.

If we cannot show them that borders? Can a nation ask others rooms, and those who preach the tenets and practice of brotherhood from pulpits—can't all of these and others of our citizenry realize and accept the basic truth that we must now and forever bring this country to its true and correct ideology and make our- selves and others realize that in truth "all men are created equal,"

Civil Rights Argued By Platform Crew

Group Splits, Turns In 2 Reports; Taft and Ike Approve Foreign Plank

Both major candidates for the party's presidential nomination—Senator Robert A. Taft and Dwight D. Eisenhower—gave their unqualified approval to the proposed foreign-policy plank.

Other Planks Completed

Planks yet in the construction process, besides civil rights, included national defense, Social Security, and governmental operations.

South Backs Other Version

Millikin hoped to work out a stand acceptable to both sides.

It was quite clear the Republicans will not go this far, and many Democrats favor a more moderate approach than Truman's.

Dulles Reports Accord

Texts of all the planks were being guarded carefully to prevent their being leaked for publication before the committee chooses to make them public.

This plank, as submitted to Taft, met his approval as to substance, but he asked some wording changes. The suggested changes were not disclosed.

Little Difficulty Expected

An agriculture subcommittee agreed meantime to stand pat on an earlier decision against endorsing specific levels at which the G.O.P., if it got into power, would support farm prices. It voted down a proposal to match a Democratic promise of supports at not less than 90 per cent of parity. The law now provides for variable supports, ranging from 75 to 90 per cent. Parity is a standard for measuring farm prices declared by law to be equally fair to farmers and those who buy their products.

The subcommittee draft now promises price supports at "whatever levels are necessary," along with other measures, to help farmers get parity returns and to maintain balanced production of crops and livestock.

Two Delegates In Harlem Tell Civil Rights Aim

Will Ask Pro-Taft Negroes to Follow Them in Switch to Eisenhower's Camp

By a Staff Correspondent

The two, Harold C. Burton and Charles S. Hill, of Harlem, decided, after talking for an hour yesterday with Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, to quit Sen. Robert A. Taft and to ask pro-Taft Negro delegates from other states to follow suit. P. 4

Mr. Burton was at the press conference called by Gov. Dewey, chairman of the state delegation, at his Hotel Sherman suite. Mr. Hill, who returned home as the result of the death of a daughter, was represented by Mrs. Esther

H. Hunter, his alternate.

Credit Dewey and Driscoll

Earlier, Archibald J. Carey jr., Negro Republican member of Chicago's City Council, delivered a sharp warning to the national convention on the political consequences of failure to adopt a strong civil rights program.

The Negro vote is crucial in this election, as it represents the balance of power in eight key cities in eight key states, he declared, adding: "Is it significant that the Republican party has not won a national election since it lost the Negro vote? The Negro American aspires to first-class citizenship and his vote will adhere to whichever party and nominee goes furthest to implement that aspiration. And there are millions of non-Negroes, too—Jews, Catholics, Mexicans, Orientals and immigrants from the corners of the earth—whose major love is freedom, too."

Impressed by Eisenhower

At Gov. Dewey's press conference, Mr. Burton said he and Mr. Hill had been deeply impressed by the sincerity and understanding shown by the General in their discussion of Negro civil rights problems. He expressed hope that Gen. Eisenhower "will be guided in the right direction" by such of his supporters as Govs. Dewey and Driscoll.

Mr. Burton said some Taft supporters are "absolutely against any form of F. E. P. C." and he cited with bitterness the attitude of a Virginian on the Resolutions Committee who, he said, has threatened to make a floor fight against adoption of any kind of civil rights plank.

Gov. Dewey declined to say, when asked by reporters, what he favored in the way of an F. E. P. C. plank. He said he would discuss it after he gets a look at the draft the subcommittee is now working on. Nor would the Governor estimate the present stand of Taft and Eisenhower votes in his ninety-six-member delegation.

So far as could be learned, the Queens delegation of eight was still uncommitted, though inclined toward Sen. Taft. There are four New York delegates definitely aligned with the Ohioan—Edward J. McCormick, of Richmond;

Rinard Nevill and Lowell Wadmond, of Manhattan, and Carl S Hallauer, of Rochester.

Civil Liberties Question Carried to City Council

Thursday morning Dr. E. H. Givens and a group of Golfers appeared before the City Council and asked why Negroes could not purchase cold drinks, cigarettes and cigars the same as anyone else using the golf course. At present there is a segregated arrangement at the Municipal Golf course where Negroes are served through a window.

Dave Pickle reported to Dr. Given's request by saying, "You are here asking for social equality." Before Dr. Givens could answer Councilwoman Emma Long spoke up and said, "Why can't they be served the same as anyone else Dave Pickle raised the question of Civil Rights with the Councilwoman. She told him that she believed that the Civil Liberties of all Americans should be regarded alike. Mrs. Long also asked the city manager why playground facilities had not been provided for Negroes in the section mentioned. Walter Seaholm told her that the Negro population was deserting those communities and that the school grounds were too small.

Dr. Givens asked that detectives be added to the police force and that were made more than a year ago.

Water Seaholm, City manager, knows that the City's Master Plan calls for the complete elimination of Negroes in South Austin and Clarksville. he **Inform** newspaper has pointed this out more than two years ago when the Master plan was under discussion. The City has adoted a policy not to make any improvements in these two sections of the City that would encourage Negroes to remain there. The City has been joined by the Austin School Board and in conference with School Board officials and the school's main one of the officials was reminded of this method of elimination by Arthur De Witty. The official said, "Oh' don't accuse me of that, this is what I found when I came into this office." In these same sections of Austin Negroes have great difficulty in securing building permits for repairs on their home. I Wheatsville we reported that the city refused to grant a permit to a Negro woman one week, the following week they granted a permit to a white person who erected a brick building with the roof extending over the

colored woman's home pouring water into her kitchen and dining room. Later the woman was forced to sell and move elsewhere. This same pattern is being followed in South Austin and Clarksville. This is a serious matter and should be gone into more thoroughly. The maps in the school office will show that within a ten year period they plan that the Negro

U. S. Must Guarantee Rights By Law. He Says

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The text of President Truman's address at the commencement exercises of Howard University last Friday afternoon follows:

I am happy to be here at this Howard University commencement. Dr. Johnson has asked me to come to your commencement several times, and I am glad that I was able to do it before the end of my term in office.

You who are graduating here today can always be proud of this University. This institution was founded in 1867 to give meaning to the principles of freedom, and to make them work.

The founders of this University had a great vision. They knew that the slaves who had been set free needed a center of learning and higher education. They could foresee that many of the Freedmen, if they were given the chance, would take their places among the most gifted and honored American citizens. And that is what has happened. The long list of distinguished Howard alumni proves that the vision of those who established this University was profoundly true.

This University has been a true institution of higher learning which has helped to enrich American life with the talents of a gifted people.

For example, every soldier and every civilian who receives the life-saving gift of a transfusion from a blood bank can be grateful to the University. For it was the work of a distinguished Howard University professor, the late Dr. Charles Drew, that made possible the very first blood bank in the whole world.

This is a practical illustration of the fact that talent and genius have no boundaries of race, or nationality, or creed. The United States needs the imagination, the energy, and the skills, of every one of our citizens.

Howard University has recognized this from the beginning. It has accepted among its students, faculty, and trustee, representatives of every race, every creed,

and every nationality.

I wish I could say to you who are graduating today that no opportunity to use your skills and knowledge would ever be denied you. I can say this: I know what it means not to have opportunity. I wasn't able to go to college at all. I had to stay at home and work my family's farm. You have been able to get the college education that is so important to everyone in this country. Some of us are denied opportunity for economic reasons. Others are denied opportunity because of racial prejudice and discrimination. I want to see things worked out so that everyone who is capable of it receives a good education. And I want to see everyone have a chance to put his education to good use, without unfair discrimination.

Our country is founded on the proposition that all men are created equal. This means that they should be equal before the law. They should enjoy equal political rights. And they should have equal opportunities for education, employment, and decent living conditions. This is our belief, and we know it is right. We know it is morally right. And we have proved, by experience, that the more we practice that belief, the stronger, more vigorous, and happier our Nation becomes.

That is why, six years ago, I created the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Nearly five years have passed since this Committee made its report to me and to the whole American people. Today, I want to talk about some of the progress that has been made in those five years.

Back in 1947, a good many people advised me not to raise this whole question of civil rights. They said it would only make things worse. But you can't cure a moral problem, or a social problem, by ignoring it.

It is no service to the country to turn away from the hard problems — to ignore injustice and human suffering. It is simply not the American way of doing things. Of course, there are always a lot of people whose motto is

"Don't rock the boat." They are so afraid of rocking the boat, and expression to this great that they stop rowing. We can change of sentiment. They are never get ahead that way.

If something is wrong, the thing to do is to dig it out, find why it is wrong, and take sensible steps to put it right. We are all Americans together, and we can solve our hard problems together, including the problem of race relations.

The experience of the last five years demonstrates clearly that this is true. Instead of making things worse, our efforts in the field of civil rights have made things better — better in all aspects of our national life, and in all parts of the country. One of my southern friends said the other day, "The last five years are the best years in race relations this country has ever had." And the record proves it.

Of course, the forward movement did not begin with the Civil Rights Report. It was already in motion. It had been started in the 1930's, and had gained momentum during World War II.

It looked for a while in 1946 and 1947 as if this progress would come to an end. You remember that, after the first World War, a wave of hate and violence and Ku Kluxism swept over the country. The problem we faced after the second World War was this: Would we have to go through another experience such as that, or could we hold fast to the gains that had been made?

We did neither. Instead, we went forward. In many lines, we have made gains for human freedom and equality of opportunity that go far beyond anything accomplished during the war. And most of these gains have been permanent. They have been written quietly, but firmly, into our basic laws and our institutions. They will never be undone.

These things have been accomplished without dividing our people. None of the talk about the country being torn apart has come to pass. These things were done because people wanted them to be done. There has been a great working of the American conscience. All over the land there has been a growing recognition that injustice must go, and that the way of equal opportunity is better for all of us.

The Civil Rights Report and the

Civil Rights Program give voice to this great change of sentiment. They are the necessary instrument of progress. They are the trumpet blast outside the walls of Jericho — the crumbling walls of prejudice.

And their work is not yet done. We still have a long way to go. I should like to turn to the record now, and speak of the progress that has been made, and the tasks that still await us.

First, in the field of political rights. In the last five years, two more States, Tennessee and South Carolina, have abolished the poll tax. Now there are only five poll tax States, where there were eleven, not so long ago.

Opportunities for all our citizens to participate in our political life have increased steadily and rapidly. Court decisions have given protection to the right of equal participation in primary elections.

These are notable advances. But there is still a lot to do. The poll tax and other discriminatory restrictions on voting should be removed in all the States.

Second, let's take the field of education.

I am glad to say that the principle of no discrimination — the principal that has always been followed here at Howard University — is the law of this country today in institutions of higher learning supported by public funds. Since the court decisions outlawing discrimination, more than a thousand Negro graduate and professional students have been accepted by ten state universities that were closed to Negroes before. In the last five years, legislation has been passed in ten other states to abolish segregation or discrimination in schools and colleges.

And the gloomy prophecies of the opponents of civil rights have not been fulfilled. The universities have not been deserted. On the contrary, the faculties and students of the universities which are now open to all have welcomed and accepted the new students on their merits as individuals.

This is only one instance of the way educational opportunities have been opening up to Negroes in recent years. Since 1930, the enrollment of Negro college students has gone up eight times. Just stop and think what that means. For

every 100 Negro college students enrolled in 1930 there are 800 today.

In the field of housing, we have also been making progress. The congested, segregated areas in our great cities are breeding grounds of poverty, delinquency, and poor health. We have been trying to improve conditions in these areas. A major step was taken in this direction when the Supreme Court outlawed the enforcement of restrictive covenants, which so often make bad housing conditions worse.

We have begun to make progress in public housing also. In 1950, 177 local public housing projects were freely opened to families of all races and creeds. This is an eight-fold increase in eight years. And in the last few years, nine states and eight cities have forbidden discrimination or segregation in public housing.

Another problem is that of protecting the right to safety and security of the person. There is no more important duty of government. We must protect our citizens from mob violence. And here again we have been moving forward.

In the last five years, two States have enacted anti-lynching laws, and four States and six cities have passed laws against wearing masks in public. The Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice and the FBI have used their powers to reinforce the State and local law enforcement agencies. The latest instance was in Illinois, where the State Governor stopped an outbreak of mob violence and the Federal authorities brought to justice the local law enforcement officers who abetted the mob.

Interfered with States rights or upset our system of government. Most of our citizens, wherever they live, have welcomed it. They want to be helped in suppressing lynching. And they would be helped by Federal legislation to safeguard the rights of individuals when local law enforcement officers fail in their duty. Such legislation ought to be on the books.

Now I would like to speak of something that gives me considerable pride. This is the progress in fair employment in Federal service.

If there is any place where fair employment practices ought to

prevail, it is the Federal Government. But experience shows that the departments and agencies of the Federal Government, no less than other organizations, need to be helped and encouraged. Sometimes they need to be compelled. In 1948, I set up a Fair Employment Board in the Civil Service Commission. This Board has gone about its task quietly and effectively, and has done a great deal to insure the success of our non-discrimination policy.

The Federal Government makes billions of dollars worth of contracts every year to buy the things it needs. The money to pay for these contracts comes from all the people, without discrimination. It should be spent in the same way — without discrimination. For over ten years, we have had a policy that every Government contract must contain a clause binding the contractor and his sub-contractors to practice non-discrimination. But it is not always easy to be sure that such a clause is being followed in practice. To meet that situation, I set up a Committee on Government Contract Compliance last year. It is the duty of that Committee to work with the contracting agencies and to help them get better compliance with the rule of non-discrimination.

States and cities have also been going ahead to see that fair employment practices are followed in their jurisdictions. In the last few years, eleven States and twenty municipalities have adopted fair employment laws. Unions and employers in many places have voluntarily done away with the color bar. And the results have been peaceful and beneficial. None of the disorder that was so freely predicted has taken place.

Some of the greatest progress of all has been made in the Armed Services. Service in the armed forces of our country is both a duty and a right of citizenship. Every man or woman who enters one of our services is certainly entitled to equal treatment and equal opportunity.

There has been a great deal of talk about the need for segregation in the Armed Services. Some of our greatest generals have said that our forces had to have segregated units. But our experience has proved that this was nonsense.

Quite some time ago, the Navy and the Air Force eliminated all racial distinctions, and the Army has been moving step by step toward this goal. For over two years, every soldier coming into a training unit has been assigned on a basis of individual merit without racial distinction. In the Far East, when General Ridgway took command, he ordered the progressive integration of all the troops in his command, and you have seen the results in the wonderful performance of our troops in Korea. Only recently, a similar order was issued by the European command at the direction of the Secretary of the Army. From Tokyo and Heidelberg these orders have gone out that will make our fighting forces a more perfect instrument of democratic defense.

All these matters have been taken care of in a quiet and orderly way. The prophets of doom have been proved wrong. The civil rights program has not weakened our country — it has made our country stronger. It has not made us less united — it has made us more united. The progress we have made so far is a source of deep satisfaction to all of us. But that does not mean we have reached the goal or that we can stop working. Much remains to be done.

Voluntary action can carry us a long way, and we must encourage it. State and local legislation is a necessity, and we must have it. But let us remember this: The President's Committee on Civil Rights led the way. The debate over the civil rights program has stimulated much of the progress of the last five years. We still need the legislation recommended to the Congress in 1948. Only two of the recommendations I made in my Civil Rights Program have been adopted so far. I shall continue, in office and out, to urge the Congress to adopt the remainder.

I am not one of those who feel that we can leave these matters up to the States alone, or that we can rely solely on the efforts of men of good will. Our Federal Government must live up to the ideals professed in our Declaration of Independence and the duties imposed upon it by our Constitution. The full force and power of the Federal Government must stand behind the protector of rights guaranteed by our Federal Constitution.

In this country of ours that we love so much, we have built a way of life that has brought more satisfaction to more people than any other that has ever been devised. Our American way of life is the envy and the admiration of people everywhere in the world. But this fact should not make us proud and arrogant. It places a heavy — a critical — responsibility upon us.

The technical skills and knowledge that have been brought to such perfection in our country depend upon scientific discoveries that have come to us from all over the world. We have used this knowledge to build for ourselves a prosperous and happy country, but we know that we hold these skills in trust for all mankind. It is not our way to use the power that has come to us to oppress or victimize others. Our way is to use the power that has come to us to lift up the weak and the downtrodden.

In many countries of the world, misery, poverty and poor health are widespread. Some of these countries were formerly possessions or colonies. Their people are now determined to improve their welfare and to preserve national independence.

And we can help those new countries reach their goals. One of the means to do this is our Point Four program, through which we are helping to bring better health, more education, more and better food to millions of people. Graduates of this University are working on Point Four teams in many countries throughout the world. Negro professional workers from this and other universities are helping to cure sickness in Burma and Lebanon, to increase farm output in Liberia, to improve education in Ethiopia and Iran. They are working in India, Thailand, and Indochina. In these and other countries Americans are working together, regardless of race, creed, or ancestry, to help the progress of mankind.

This American nation of ours is great because of its diversity of people — because it is a people drawn from many lands and many cultures, bound together by the ideals of human brotherhood. We must remember these things as we go forward in our efforts for world peace.

We should realize that much of the trouble in the world today is the result of false ideas of racial superiority. In the past, the conduct of the democratic nations has too often been marred by a racial pride that has left its scars on the relations between East and West.

Today, as we reach a fuller understanding of the brotherhood of man we are laying aside these old prejudices. We are working with the new nations of Asia and Africa as equals. Anything less would be a betrayal of the democratic ideals we profess. Better such perfection in our country than any other country, the United States can reach out, through our diversity of races and origins, and deal as man to man with the different peoples of the globe.

In this way — in this spirit — we can help other peoples to build better lives for themselves. We can show that free people working together can change misery to happiness.

There are those who have said that this is America's century, but we want it to be more than that. We want it to be humanity's century. If all the people of the world, including the people of the Soviet Union, could know and appreciate this fact, lasting peace and universal justice would not be a dream. They would be a reality. With courage, with vision, and with God's help we will yet make these ideals a reality around the world.

Deputy Asks For Court Mercy In Civil Rights Case

COLUMBUS, Ga. — (INS) Deputy Sheriff Clyde Chester Henson of Marion County today threw himself to the mercy of the federal court in Columbus, pleading no contest to charges that he deprived two Negroes of their civil rights.

Henson, son of Sheriff W. E. Henson, was involved with his father and State Highway Patrolman Brown Jordan, in the alleged beating of Alvertis Davis and Margaret Miller Holloman when the two were placed in jail last June 29.

The Elder Henson and Patrolman Jordan were notified they will not be prosecuted further for lack of evidence.

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Deputy Asks For Court Mercy In Civil Rights Case

DR. TOBIAS ASSAILS 2 PARTIES ON RIGHTS

Tells Urban League Bias in U.S. Imperils Nation's Leadership of Free Nations of World

By ELIE ABEL

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CLEVELAND, Sept. 2 — Dr.

Channing H. Tobias, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, found fault today with the civil rights planks of the Democratic and Republican party platforms, contending that both conventions had ignored the impact of racial discrimination at home upon United States leadership of the free nations.

The two parties treated civil rights as a domestic issue, one that would work itself out "through processes of gradualism," without facing up to the basic issue, Dr. Tobias told the annual conference of the National Urban League at a dinner tonight.

As a result of this approach, he asserted, the civil rights planks of both platforms amounted to "eloquently stated general principles, carefully planned omissions and skillfully devised evasions, all woven together with such ambiguity as to mean all things to all men."

"This may be good politics," Dr. Tobias said, but it is bad sociology and poor statesmanship.

Whether the United States established a single standard of citizenship for all citizens, white and black, was the concern not only of local communities, states and the Federal Government, but of the entire world, he declared.

Cites Dispute With Vishinsky

Dr. Tobias, who was a member of the United States delegation to the sixth United Nations General Assembly, illustrated his thesis by an account of the exchanges in Paris between himself and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Y. Vishinsky.

When the Soviet spokesman made capital of racial disturbances in the United States, Dr. Tobias was forced to acknowledge the existence of "bad laws" in certain states and of racial discrimination, he said. He told the Russians that American Negroes were, however, free to protest bad laws and that such freedom was denied citizens of the Soviet Union.

The conference earlier heard Mrs. Samuel I. Rosenman of New York announce the inauguration of an Urban League Housing Committee whose first objective would be to seek the cooperation of the Federal Housing Administration in

stimulating private construction for Negroes.

In the last twenty years, Mrs. Rosenman said, Negro families have greatly increased their earning power through an extension of educational opportunities. Only a minority of builders realize that the Negro's ability to buy or rent desirable housing has been enhanced, she said, adding: "It is far more difficult to obtain credit for financing homes for Negro families than for white."

More Aid for Negroes Urged

The new housing committee, of which Mrs. Rosenman is chairman, has submitted to Walter L. Greene, Commissioner of the Federal Housing Administration, the following recommendations:

That the housing agency should act upon the "spirit as well as the letter" of the Supreme Court decision that invalidated racial restrictive covenants by ruling out unwritten racial restrictions and "gentlemen's agreements."

The Sparkman Record On Civil Rights

The vice-presidential candidacy of Alabama's Senator John J. Sparkman has raised in many minds the question of whether the Democratic Party sincerely intends to effect civil rights legislation. Most thinking voters will agree, upon reading Senator Sparkman's record which is printed herewith, that the Democrat's "Appeasement" gesture in nominating Sparkman is a direct denial of the sincerity of their civil rights promises.

Sparkman's record on civil rights is bad. As a Representative in Congress for ten years, he voted against every civil rights proposal which came before the House. As a member of the Senate for the past six years he has participated in every filibuster that has occurred on motions to take up civil rights bills, he has voted every time against limiting debate, and voted for racial segregation in the armed services.

The utterances for which he is best remembered were made in a speech broadcast from Mobile, Alabama, April 17, 1950, when Alabama Democrats and Dixiecrats were fighting for control of the state Democratic organization.

In that speech, Sparkman declared: "I am against the civil rights proposals — always have been and always will be." He boasted that one of the first votes he cast after his election to Congress was against a civil rights bill.

Although the 1948 Democratic platform contained a strong civil rights plank, Sparkman predicted that as long as Southerners could operate as Democrats, no such legislation will be passed. He added that twenty-one southern Democratic Senators were "banded together and pledged to use every parliamentary device possible to defeat civil rights legislation."

The "parliamentary device," to which Sparkman referred, is the filibuster.

At Chicago, Sparkman was a member of the committee which drafted the 1952 platform, calling for: (1) improvement of congressional procedures to permit majority rule to prevail and a vote to be taken after reasonable debate, (2) the right to equal job opportunity, (3) antilynching legislation, (4) anti-poll tax legislation, and (5) the strengthening of existing Federal civil rights laws and of administrative machinery for the protection of civil rights.

Since Chicago, Sparkman has had two good opportunities to make clear, as his party's nominee for Vice President, his position on amending Senate rules to end filibustering and on fair employment practice, antilynching and anti-poll tax legislation. But each time he has evaded answers which would commit him to any course of action if he should be elected the presiding officer of the Senate.

His first opportunity to state his position was his reply to Representative Adam C. Powell of New York. His second opportunity came on "Meet the Press," the NBC television program, on which he was interviewed by four Washington correspondents of metropolitan newspapers. On both occasions, Sparkman was evasive.

The answer to the question of where he stands now is very

important to the voters of the country. Sparkman is not now seeking office as an ambassador of a sovereign state, but as Vice President of the United States. If he is elected in November, some Senator may raise the point of order that the Senate is not a continuing body and that its rules, like the rules of the House, expire with each Congress.

His ruling on such a point of order would determine whether the Senate would adopt new rules at the beginning of each session by a majority vote, or whether the old rules, which permit unlimited debate on any proposal to change the rules, continue in effect.

Of course, Sparkman would not be expected to rule arbitrarily on such a point of order without taking into consideration applicable constitutional provisions and precedents. But it is important that the voters know whether he still favors the filibuster as a means of defeating civil rights legislation, or whether he favors democratic processes which would permit the Senate to act after reasonable debate.

On legislative matters the Vice President votes only in the case of a tie vote. But before Sparkman is elevated to the Vice Presidency he should state whether he is now opposed, and always will be opposed, to Federal civil rights legislation, as was his position in 1950.

Sniffing At Civil Rights

Heavy Negro Vote In Key Northern States Has Party Strategists Palavering In Most Unedifying Ways

By JOSEPH AND STEWART ALSOP

WASHINGTON.—The way both major parties are sniffing nervously at the civil rights issue provides the least edifying spectacle of this campaign. The candidates have got to decide soon just how badly they need the Negro vote, and just how far they will go to get it.

President Truman himself has often said privately that the Negroes gave him the margin of victory in 1948, by voting for him in sufficient numbers to provide his slim majorities in Illinois, Ohio and California. According to the Negro leaders, Negroes feel even more deeply about the civil rights issue this year than in 1948, and more of them will go to the polls than ever before. There are more than three million in the key Northern states which could go either way, including more than half a million in New York, more than a third of a million in Illinois and Pennsylvania, and well over 200,000 each in Ohio, Michigan, California and Maryland.

The way Dwight D. Eisenhower and Adlai E. Stevenson deal with the civil rights issue could obviously determine the outcome of a close election. Eisenhower's pre-convention campaign manager, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, and his allies are trying to persuade Eisenhower to reverse himself on the issue. Although Eisenhower has flatly said that he opposes compulsory Federal fair employment legislation, the Lodge group is willing to risk a public flipflop by their

thinking of taking Lodge's advice. Lodge and his allies are clearly much more worried than they were in the pre-convention period, when there was talk of an Eisenhower sweep which would carry Southern Democratic states like Texas. An Eisenhower switch on civil rights would knock out his chance of winning Southern electoral votes. But Lodge now considers it much more important for Eisenhower to have a solid chance to carry the key Northern industrial states, where the Negro vote is concentrated, rather than outside chance of winning a scattering of Southern states.

Moreover, the Lodge group is convinced that the Democratic nomination for Vice President of Senator John Sparkman of Alabama gives the Republicans a real opportunity to recapture the bulk of the Negro vote. Since he was visited a few days ago by a Negro delegation, Eisenhower seems to be thinking of taking Lodge's advice.

but after what he has already said on the subject, it will not be easy for Eisenhower to reverse himself.

Eisenhower's running mate, Senator Richard Nixon, moreover, has repeatedly voted with the Southerners on civil rights issues. He has opposed cloture, and on the Senate's labor subcommittee which was considering the Humphrey-Ives fair employment bill, Nixon joined Senator Lister Hill of Alabama in opposing the bill. Thus, the Republican vice presidential candidate would have to do a public flipflop too.

The curious fact is that Stevenson's problem is easier than Eisenhower's despite the presence of Sparkman on the ticket. For the time being, Stevenson has played down the civil rights issue. Meanwhile, many Southern leaders, like Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, Senator A. Willis Robertson of Virginia, Gov. Hugh L. White of Mississippi, and the last into the fold, Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, are declaring for Stevenson. Stevenson electors will appear on the ballots in these and other Southern states.

Real Plain Talk May Be Outcome

With the South thus tied up, Stevenson will then be in a position to make a speech firmly favoring Federal civil rights legislation, and interpreting the Democratic civil rights plank as stronger than the 1948 plank. This is the strategy which some of those close to him are urging Stevenson to adopt. It would have been easier for Stevenson to do so effectively, if the "liberals" at the Chicago convention had not gone a trifle mad. They made a funny issue of the seating of the Virginia and Louisiana delegations, talked about Stevenson as a "Northern Dixiecrat," and pictured Sparkman as a sort of Simon Legree.

Since it is no secret that Stevenson encouraged the nomination of Sparkman, whom he admires for his generally liberal record, this public spasm of the liberals in Chicago certainly complicates his problem. It makes it much easier for the Republicans to picture any strong civil rights stand by Stevenson as mere cynical vote hunting.

This could hurt Stevenson with the Negro voters, especially because there has already been so much stomach-turning political cynicism where their civil rights are concerned. The Southern oligarchs have seized on the civil rights issue to maintain themselves in power. Many of the Northerners have used the issue as a sort of political flypaper, shooting for unenforceable legislation which they know has no chance of passing, in order to catch Negro votes. Under these circumstances, it is just possible that the best strategy

for both Eisenhower and Stevenson is to say what they really think. And being the kind of men they are, it is also possible that this is precisely what they will do.

A Judge Cracks Down

LAST week in Connecticut, Superior Court Judge A. S. Bordon cracked down on lily-white Local 35 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers for refusing to admit two Negro laborers to the union.

Thus, the judge upheld the action of the States Civil Rights Commission's guilty finding of Aug. 17, 1951, which pointed out that this union never had admitted Negroes.

It is noteworthy that while the controversy over Federal fair employment legislation goes on and on, several of the states that have enacted such laws have been making real progress in removing road blocks holding up Negro progress in commerce and industry.

There are now eleven states having such laws which cover a total of approximately sixty million Americans or almost three-eighths of the national population and over a score of municipalities have similar ordinances.

More important than appears at first glance is that these are the principal industrial and commercial states to which the agricultural population is moving (colored and white) as farm mechanization increases and the proportion of rural dwellers declines.

A little more spirited, persistent and intelligently directed effort in behalf of state fair employment measures could conceivably win over several more commonwealths (where FEPC has heretofore lost out by only a small margin in the legislatures) and lift the total population under FEPC (white and colored) to two-thirds of the American people.

The achievement of this goal will not be far off if we really go to work on it.

Already we have seen the effect of state FEPC in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and other states, and this should stimulate us to greater effort.

Even if such laws should fail in the Southern states, the effect of covering two-thirds of the population in the chief industrial and commercial states would be tremendously salutary.

Already many great corporations and labor unions which barred Negro workers have had to change policies drastically of many years standing in order to comply with these state laws and municipal ordinances.

The point we want to make is that we should not mark time awaiting passage of a Federal fair employment practices law when we can be making great headway through the states.

Sparkman Would Gag Hill

BLINDED by the glitter of the vice presidency, dizzied by the heights of alternate leadership of the Democratic Party, beguiled by the thought that a single heart beat would stand between him and the White House, cajoled and poked along by northern party leaders—John Sparkman of Alabama has forsaken his principles.

It cannot be said which principles Sparkman has betrayed, only that one or the other has been abandoned.

See for yourself. Two years ago, as a senator, Sparkman sought only the votes of Alabamians. On April 17, 1950, at Mobile, Sparkman said:

"I am against the civil rights proposals—always have been and always will be."

Sparkman pledged that he and 20 other southern senators would always continue to filibuster against civil rights bills.

Two years later—Friday—Sparkman, now a candidate seeking minority votes in northern states and taking Alabama for granted, indorsed a federal cop FEPC bill sponsored by Sen. Humphrey. And he promised to use his power as vice president and presiding officer of the Senate to stuff and wad gauze into the throats of southern senators attempting a filibuster.

And among those southern filibusterers that Sparkman would gag would be none other than the man who nominated him in Chicago—Sen. Lister Hill of Alabama, no less.

AS YOU SEE, it cannot be said whether Sparkman's principles are represented by his 1950 pledge in Mobile or his 1952 pledge in Chicago.

No matter. The point is, somebody is being hornswoggled. It's either Sparkman's fellow Alabamians or it is the Negro minorities of the northern states, who now promise their stout support to Sparkman.

THE civil rights stand of the Steven-

son-Sparkman ticket is now no different from that of President Truman and Sen. Humphrey.

Gov. Stevenson comes by his announced stand on civil rights honestly. He boasts that he twice gave his best to inducing the Illinois legislature to enact an FEPC bill. He has, from the beginning, said that if the states wouldn't take action, then the federal cops would have to step in.

In his New York speech last week before the Liberal Party, Stevenson went further. He singled out the pending Humphrey bill for favorable mention. And he demanded that the United States Senate "shake off the ancient shackles" of the civil rights filibuster.

In the same speech, seeking to obliterate the filibustering past of his Alabama running mate and show that he has hit the sawdust trail, Stevenson promised that Sparkman was a southern liberal who has "enlisted for life in the struggle to improve the economic lot and security of all of our people."

WHEREUPON, the Associated Press filed two dispatches, which appeared in yesterday's Advertiser:

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Aug. 29 (AP)—Following the conferences in New York, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat, Harlem, acting spokesman of the Negro leaders, said of Stevenson:

"We are now ready to back him to the limit. We are entirely satisfied on the entire civil rights issue now."

Congressman Powell ought to be "satisfied," for on the same wire was the story:

CHICAGO, Aug. 29 (AP)—Sen. John Sparkman of Alabama said tonight he is "completely in accord" with the view of his running mate, Gov. Stevenson, on civil rights.

As a matter of fact, Sparkman ought to be "completely in accord." He wrote the convention plank on which Stevenson has perched.

BUT the strange thing is not Sparkman's conduct. He is the captive of a circumstance. He wrote the party plank. He accepted the nomination. He could not withstand the arguments of northern leaders that he would jeopardize Democratic victory by sticking to his 1950 Alabama principles. Sparkman became helpless in an undertow.

The strange thing is that, despite the fact that the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket campaigns on a promise to clamp the lips of Alabama's senators in the January session, Alabamians, or so it seems at the moment, will give them 11 electoral votes and a faretheewell.

If the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket is elected with the help of 11 electoral votes from Alabama, they will be entitled to say they hold a mandate from Alabama to break the southern filibuster and enact a bill empowering a federal cop to say whether this man or that man gets a job.

IN THE event Alabama carries on its ancestor worship by voting Democratic again, Sen. Humphrey would be entitled to rise from his seat, black eyes blazing, shake an imperious finger at the southern filibusterers, and bellow: "Down in front, Sen. Hill. You made speeches in behalf of Sparkman after he promised to gag filibusters. Your own state of Alabama gave him 11 electoral votes. You had fair warning."

Sen. Humphrey would be entitled to go on and point out that the governor of Alabama raised money in Alabama for the party, that his associates were Alabama's congressmen, and that many of the leading papers of Alabama supported the ticket.

If such comes to pass, we will leave it to Sen. Hill to work the gauze pack out of his mouth and answer Sen. Humphrey.

Civil Disobedience Is Undesirable in America

I WONDER how the civil rights planks in the platforms of both parties would be affected by a few civil disobedience demonstrations in the American South, similar to those that have begun in the Union of South Africa.

Some sort of eruption in that storm center has been predicted by many observers, but the fact of a courageous, well-planned program in actual operation comes as a shock, just the same. I believe many of us have thought the oppression of the Afrikaner culture too great for any kind of protest to be possible.

Would we also be likely to say that, over here, the oppression of the deep South is not great enough to provoke civil disobedience?

Is it the measure of discrimination or the quality of leadership that produces faith in and discipline for non-violence?

MAHATMA GANDHI lived in the Union of South Africa as a young man. The region has inherited his philosophy directly, has present-day Indian leadership trained by and related to him and in other respects presents similarities to the struggle for free in India that are not part of the racial problems of the United States.

For example, in India and in the Union of South Africa the program is carried on in an atmosphere of intense religious fervor. One central fact of the Malan Government that is frequently overlooked by the outside world in attempts to assess and understand the foolhardy course of the Nationalists is that Afrikaners are religious zealots.

They regard themselves as a chosen people in need of protection from pollution from all kinds of sources, ideological as well as racial. Comparisons to the Nazi master race theories are, of course, inevitable.

ZEAL MUST be met with zeal, for there is no reason in it. Where compromise or progress or change are impossible a clash is inevitable. If the non-whites of the Union of South Africa are really dedicated to the cause of freedom, then the world must be prepared for a long and bitter fight.

In contrast, racial difficulties in the United States present a political question first, and then social and moral questions. Negative racial attitudes in the United States do not exist because of any religious tenets widely held by Americans, but in spite of and in opposition to the Christian and Hebraic faiths. How productive a technique would civil disobedience be, therefore, for American minorities in their struggle for first-class citizenship?

In the first place, civil disobedience is a weapon of a helpless people, to whom all other avenues of protest or action are closed. It is their very weakness that is their strength as they silently challenge the entire classical solution.

Civil disobedience is a mass confession of the ultimate endurance and a laying on of an intolerable weight. It was successful in India; it makes sense in the Union of South Africa. Is it for America?

THE LIMIT of endurance has been reached and passed in the jim-crow Washington school situation.

This year we had two examples of civil disobedience by parents. In one, over 800 children were kept out of school

several days by parents who protested a transfer of buildings that meant long and dangerous travel for young children.

In another, a Negro minister took his child to a white school and just sat in the classroom until the principal moved the white children.

In Washington, where there is no vote, where the Board of Education is not responsive to the needs of Negro children, where the city commissioners have no authority in school policy or management, Negro parents are "without redress, unless the courts come to our rescue. In such situation, civil disobedience is possible and altogether probable in the future on a wider scale than the two instances of recent months.

WIDESPREAD CIVIL disobedience in the United States seems, however, to be unlikely and undesirable. It does not comport with our reliance upon democratic method, goals and ideals.

The great bulk of American law is in our favor, and, against the segregation laws we have the argument of unconstitutionality. It could be said that a great program of civil disobedience has been carried on by white Americans against us because of their non-compliance with Constitutional guarantees.

They are in revolt against their own accepted law and religion when they discriminate. It is still reasonable to expect that such weapons as the increasing extension of the franchise in the South to Negroes and wider utilization of it in the North will bring the solutions we seek within the framework of law.

Minorities Ask Tougher Plank On Civil Rights filibusters should be curbed by amending the rule which now calls for a two-thirds majority of all Senators, present or absent, to limit debate.

They demanded anti-lynching, anti-segregation and anti-poll tax legislation.

Rep. Emanuel Celler, N. Y., demanded a plank against "McCarthyism," calling it "an evil recognizable to every mature mind."

Lehman Confident

Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, N. Y., leader of the civil rights fight in the drafting committee, expressed confidence at the end of the morning that the Democratic party would adopt a thoroughgoing civil rights plank. But the silence of the Southern delegates augured a bitter fight in the committee, with the possibility that it would be reshaped on the convention floor.

"The plank is shaping up very well," Sen. Lehman said. He read into the record a telegram from Mayor Vincent R. Impellitteri of New York indorsing a "strong, unequivocal and forthright" civil rights plank.

Civil Rights Issue

But J. Robert Elliott, Democratic National Committeeman from Georgia, declared that "certain radical groups" were pushing civil rights, and asserted that they were not interested in reaching a compromise. He said in a state-

ment that if "a sincere and conscientious effort is made by all factions," the Democratic party could get together on an "acceptable civil rights plank."

Sen. Lister Hill, Ala., also expressed belief that the Platform Committee would write a plank acceptable to both North and South. "It won't be a plank that every one will want, but it will be a plank that every one can go along on," he commented.

Sen. John J. Sparkman, Ala., also said outside the committee that he felt that a North-South split over the issue could be avoided. During the hearing he rose to deny a statement by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell jr., N. Y., that he had said that "the Negro vote has no place else to go."

Old South Speaks

Supporters of a thoroughgoing civil rights plank were in a heavy majority in the hot committee room, but there was at least one vocal representative of the Old South who took the floor indignantly after listening to some three hours of debate.

This was Mrs. J. D. Alderman, of Jacksonville, Fla., a gray-haired lady who felt she had taken all she could stand when Aubrey Williams, former National Youth Administrator, now a Montgomery, Ala., publisher, complained that he couldn't even hire a Negro printer on his monthly publication, "The Southern Farmer."

"Mr. Williams, do you think you can legislate morals into people?" Mrs. Alderman demanded wrathfully. "Don't you think the Prohibition law taught us something about that?"

Mr. Williams said he didn't want to argue with a lady.

Mrs. Alderman returned to the charge. She shook a finger at the audience said said: "It's because you carpet-baggers came down there right after the Civil War and tried to cram the colored people down our throats, and we wouldn't swallow them. That's what caused all this racial feeling in the South that you-all are talking about."

Full Program Offered

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, presented a team of ten speakers representing fifty-one or-



M. McKenzie

Minorities Ask Tougher Plank On Civil Rights

Southern Delegates Silent as Compromise Is Said to Imperil Party Victory

By James M. Minifie
JULY 18-52

CHICAGO, July 17.—A tougher

civil rights plank than the one which split the Democratic party in 1948 was demanded today by representatives of labor and spokesmen for Negro and other minority groups. Southern delegates on the platform committee maintained an ominous silence or branded the demands "radical."

Witness after witness insisted before a preliminary drafting committee, over which Rep. John W. McCormack, Mass., presided, that a "harmony compromise" on civil rights would cost the Democrats the November election.

They made the further points that the candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency should be required to pledge themselves to enforceable Federal legislation on civil rights, and that Senate

contributions to the 1948 tragedy." The Reuther statement took note of Southern threats to bolt, but added: "We do not believe the South will bolt, but if it so chooses, let this happen. Let the realignment of parties proceed."

Sen. McCormack remonstrated with Mr. White at the length of time his presentation and that of his supporters was taking, but conceded him repeated additional time. Mr. White brought the room to laughter by remarking, "I am glad to see that the committee

He insisted that it was not enough for the Democratic party to reiterate the civil rights plank of 1948, since the retention of power to filibuster reduced all such planks to "so much political flypaper to attract votes."

Mr. Sifton departed from Mr. Reuther's statement to take a swat at Sen. Richard B. Russell, Ga., a prominent Democratic Presidential contender, calling the present Senate Rule 22 "Sen. Russell's

organizations to push the need for rule for the District of Columbia and amendment of Senate Rule 22 to permit cloture by a majority of those present and voting after in June. These include Federal anti-lynching and mob-assault laws, Federal legislation against segregation, discrimination and interference with the right to vote; establishment of a permanent commission on civil rights; expansion of the civil rights section of the Justice Department; statehood for Alaska and Hawaii; home

recognizes the need for the limitation of debate."

Mr. White warned that Negro voters hold the balance of power in seventeen states with 281 electoral votes. "We are not going to walk out on election day," he declared.

Stanley Gewirtz, chairman of the National Executive Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, also insisted that "the margin of victory in 1952 will be the gap between passive indifference and the enthusiastic support of the great independent and minority groups in the country." He urged the Democratic party to "present the nation a clear alternative to the cautious, expedient, catch-all platform which the Republican party tailored to suit its most reactionary and prejudiced constituency."

THREATEN VOTE

'STRIKE' IN FIGHT

FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

Continued
Negroes and CIO Warn

P. 5
Democratic Party

BY PERCY WOOD

The strong civil rights lobby, led by Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and James B. Carey of the CIO, yesterday urged the platform drafting committee of the Democratic national convention to adopt a nine point plank, including recommendations for a federal fair employment practices commission and amendment of United States senate rules to outlaw filibusters.

Almost as many words were used in criticizing senate rule 22, which permits limitation of debate only if two-thirds or 64 of the 96 senators so vote, as were used in support of FEPC and federal laws against lynchings, poll taxes, and segregation.

Southern senators have been accused of using rule 22 to stall actions on bills dealing with the Negro problem.

Demand Strong Plank

Two not so veiled threats that failure of the Democrats to adopt a compulsory civil rights plank might lead to a wholesale movement among Negroes and union men to stay away from the polls in November were read to the

committee in behalf of Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers [CIO] and Rep. Adam Clayton Powell of New York City.

Powell's statement was read by Paul L. Klein, who explained that the congressman was detained in New York for a few days on his physician's order. Powell wrote the committee that there is "a very strong possibility—I think I might better say probability—that if the Democratic party pussyfoots on the civil rights issue, the Negro voters will not go to the polls at all."

"If such a national movement develops, and needless to say I hope that we do not here in Chicago cause it to develop, I do not see how I could oppose it."

White Opposes "Walkout"

When he had the opportunity, White arose and disassociated himself from that portion of Powell's statement. "We are not going to walk out on election day," he declared.

An hour or so later a long statement was handed to the committee in Reuther's behalf. In part it read:

"Speaking for the UAW-CIO by authority of convention action, we can and, if necessary, we will, refuse to support the Presidential candidates of either party in 1952 and, instead, devote our time and effort to the election of senatorial and congressional candidates committed by word and deed to the principles of the New Deal and the Fair Deal, including establishment in the senate of majority rule and the enactment of civil rights legislation."

When Klein, reading the congressman's text, quoted Sen. Sparkman of Alabama as saying that the Democrats need not vote for FEPC because the Negroes had "no place else to go," the statement was challenged.

Denies Making Statement

Sparkman, a member of the drafting committee, from his seat behind Chairman John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, interrupted Klein, saying, "I made no such statement."

"It was in the New York newspapers," Klein replied.

"Never at any time," Sparkman said.

For the most part, the committee members listened in silence to the speakers marshaled by White, who announced that his program had the support of 54 organizations banded together as the

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

Besides White, Carey, and Reuther, thru his statement, the following speakers backed the program: Philip M. Klutznick, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; Stanley Gewirtz, Americans for Democratic Action; Paul Sifton, national legislative representative, UAW; Theodore Brown, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters [AFL]; William H. Oliver, UAW; Max Kopstein, American Jewish congress; A. Hajiwara, Japanese American Citizens League, and Henry Kohn, American Jewish committee.

Celler Raps "McCarthyism"

One witness proposed three planks for the committee's consideration. He was Rep. Emanuel Celler of New York City, who supported civil rights and continued aid to Israel and opposed what he called "McCarthyism," which was an attack on Sen. Joseph McCarthy [R., Wis.], who has charged that there are Communists in the federal government.

Celler said that "McCarthyism" is "a damnable evil" and declared, "We will serve our country ill if we keep silent on this issue."

The congressman's suggested plank on Israel included the following paragraphs:

"Israel desires to stand on its own. It welcomes and appreciates our continued aid, but it prays for the day when it may say that outside aid is not necessary and that its economy is stable and that its secret service and FBI agents will guard Chicago convention building during the Democratic national convention because of projected visits by President Truman and cabinet members. The hall will be closed from 2 p. m. Sunday until the conclave opens Monday so federal men can inspect every nook and cranny."

Congress and Plaza drives [Van Buren and Harrison sts.], between Columbus dr. and the east side of Michigan av., will be closed to traffic and parking from 6 a. m. Sunday until after the convention, it was announced yesterday by

park officials. Motor coaches will be allowed to turn around in Plaza dr., and deliveries to the Illinois Central railroad's Van Buren st. station will be permitted.

President Truman's suite is ready for him at the Blackstone hotel. And he gets one "extra special service," according to Manager John Burke: "The hotel already has moved a piano into one of the sitting rooms for Mr. Truman."

The rooms, known as the Presidential suite, are on the 5th floor. The suite includes a large living room, two smaller sitting rooms, and three bedrooms. Gen. Eisenhower occupied it last week. Many Democratic notables will be at the Blackstone. Ex-Sen. A. B. [Happy] Chandler of Kentucky, former baseball boss, will arrive today. James A. Farley, former Democratic national committee chairman who broke with Franklin D. Roosevelt over the third term issue, will get here tomorrow. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt will be at the hotel Tuesday and address the convention that day. The Democrats have 300 rooms and suites reserved in the Blackstone.

Dr. U. S. Lewis, a horse and buggy doctor from East Dubuque, Jo Daviess county, who voted for Adlai E. Stevenson for Vice President in 1892, wandered into Stevenson for President headquarters yesterday in the Conrad Hilton hotel and declared his intention to vote for Adlai Stevenson for President—if he decides to run. The 1892 candidate, grandfather of the present governor, was Grover Cleveland's running mate.

India Edwards for Vice President headquarters will open this morning in Room 9 on the third floor of the Hilton. Mrs. Jennie O'Hern of Mobridge, S. D., announced yesterday. She will head the headquarters, with Mrs. Frances G. Satterfield of Atlanta, Ga. "The movement is a serious one," Mrs. O'Hern said. "The Democratic party always has shown its respect for qualified women, and there is no reason why we shouldn't have a qualified woman candidate for the Vice Presidency." Mrs. Edwards, vice chairman of the Democratic national committee and head of its women's division, has been described as the "grand dame of the party."

Painters and decorators were busy putting finishing touches to the Convention building. The last job was to paint the press section, which was not painted in time for the Republican convention last week. Red, white, and blue streamers were attached to the bare walls of the box seat section on the main floor, and the speaker's podium was altered and re-decorated. The bandstand has been placed at the west end of the building, behind the platform. The change was made so the musicians would be in front of the audience, not behind it as they

were at the Republican sessions. Democratic party slogans also were hung around the balconies.

A baby sitting service and a teen-age entertainment bureau have been set up to relieve delegates of the problem of amusing their offspring during the sessions. Baby sitters will be available thru nine information booths, two in the Hilton, and others in the Morrison, Palmer House, Congress, Sherman, and La Salle hotels, the tenat at Convention building, and in Rep. William Dawson's headquarters, 3525 State st.

Inter-racial group takes issue with vote claim

BUFFALO, N. Y., Aug. 6—(P)—The Buffalo Civil Rights League, Inc., an inter-racial group which claims 3000 members, disagrees with Rep. Adam C. Powell's prediction that Negroes will not vote for the presidential candidates of either major party.

The directors of the group, at a special meeting Monday, approved a resolution declaring that the New York Negro Democrat "is a leader but not a controller of the American Negro."

The resolution added in part:

"For the American Negro to fail to exercise his hard won voting franchise would invite disaster, not only as Negroes, but as Americans."

Powell said Sunday that Negroes would not vote either for Gen. Eisenhower or Gov. Stevenson "unless we get a civil rights platform acceptable to the Negroes of America."

Tells Demos To Stand Firm On Civil Rights

By L. F. PALMER, JR.

Everybody was for everything that smacked of civil rights Wednesday night as about 1,000 election minded citizens gathered at Chicago's Hotel Sherman for the NAACP's Operation Civil Rights banquet.

However, about all that came out of the frontal attack on the Democratic and Republican parties were hackneyed political promises and some much needed cash to bolster the work of the local NAACP branch.

Duane Greathouse, director of Region 4, United Auto Workers, CIO, and Walter White, executive secretary of NAACP, set the stage for the appearance of a representative of each of the major parties.

Greathouse said, "It is a crime that we have to have this type of affair to show the political parties that we demand action on civil rights."

He charged that neither party wanted to solve civil rights problems because they can use the issue to play on the emotions of American citizens.

ISSUES WARNINGS

The NAACP chief issued a warning to the Democrats that if they choose a candidate who is not solidly for civil rights, Negroes would turn their votes in another direction. He warned the Republicans that they must sever their relationship with the Dixiecrats if they expect to win the confidence of colored voters.

White then read a nine-point statement which he said embodied the demands of Negro Americans. Included are:

Revision of Rule 22 to end the filibuster, FEPC, end of segregation, anti-lynch legislation, anti-poll tax laws, expansion of the department of justice to include a full civil rights division, appointment of a permanent civil rights commission, statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, and home rule for the District of Columbia.

HERMAN FOR GOP

first politician to speak was Albert B. Herman, executive director of the National Republican committee. A master humorist, Herman entertained the audience with lengthy descriptions of his experiences as a baseball player with the Boston Braves and as a grinner for Colgate university.

In the final minutes of his speech, he flayed the Southern Democrats and called for a comparison of his party's record and the Democrat's on balloting to end segregation in the army and on invoking cloture so bills, including civil rights measures, could be brought to a vote.

Herman said he was campaign manager for Governor Driscoll of New Jersey, a state with a strong FEPC law. He said members of his party must realize that the Grand Old Party can no longer seek to capture the Negro vote by talking about Abraham Lincoln.

WILLIAMS ABSENT

Judge John Gutknecht of Chicago spoke in place of Gov. G. Mennen Williams who was delayed at a governors' meeting in Houston. He told Herman that if Lincoln were alive today there would be some question as to whether he would be a member of the Republican party. He charged the GOP to honor Lincoln his memory.

"If I am active," the judge said, "there will be no second class citizens in Cook county within the next two years." He said all individuals are injured when any minority group is denied civil rights.

In answer to a question from the floor, both speakers said they were in favor of each plank in the nine-point civil rights statement.

Elmer Henderson, national director of the American Council on Human Rights, was moderator at the dinner and Dr. Charles Thompson was chairman. Atty. George Leighton, president of the local NAACP branch, welcomed the dinners.

CIVIL RIGHTS WORKSHOP

A civil rights-convention-workshop was held Monday night at the University of Chicago as a prelude to the banquet. Six workshops were in session and out of each grew resolutions for the consideration of the platform committees of the political parties.

Workshop leaders included Robert Taylor, business and finance; Atty. John Rogers, civil rights; Eva Ebster, education; Louncher Pemberton, employment the Chicago branch of the council. William H. Browne, III, is president.

Elmer Henderson, ACHR director, in the keynote address, warned that forces were at work in both parties seeking to reduce civil rights programs to a point where they would not be offensive to anyone but militant Negroes. "SPEAK LOUDLY"

He deplored the thinking of some persons that a boycott of the polls would be an effective counter attack, should this come about.

"We need now to assure each party that they cannot get away with a weak civil rights stand," Henderson said. "If people speak out loudly enough, we won't be ignored."

The workshop was sponsored by the Chicago branch of the council. William H. Browne, III is president.

Civil Rights Split Delays Finish of G. O. P. Platform

Millikin Is Balked In Effort to Heal Subcommittee Rift

By J. A. O'Leary

Star Staff Correspondent

CHICAGO, July 9.—The civil rights issue, which usually plagues only the Democrats, was still giving the Republicans trouble today as the Resolutions Committee met to pass on the final draft of

the 1952 G. O. P. platform.

Senator Millikin of Colorado, in charge of the platform, failed yesterday in a last-minute attempt to bring together the divided subcommittee which handled the civil rights problem.

The dispute centered around the extent to which the Federal Government should attempt to bring about fair employment practices to eliminate racial discrimination.

Would Rely on Publicity.

The majority of the subcommittee is reported to have recommended establishment of a Federal commission to function in States which fail to pass their own laws. There would be no Federal prosecutions, but the commission would have subpoena power to investigate complaints, relying on publicity to correct abuses.

A minority report was filed by two subcommittee members—Lester S. Parsons of Norfolk, Va., and George L. Hart, jr., of the District of Columbia.

Although the subcommittee reports have not been made public, the use of the subpoena power is believed to be the chief bone of contention.

Warns of Danger.

The minority report declares that:

"We believe that the concentration of power in the Federal Government and rapid expansion of Federal bureaucracy constitute a grave and present danger to the Republic . . .

"We believe that the right of each State to order and conduct its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment is essential to that balance of power" on which the Nation depends.

The report favors adoption by each State of legislation against lynching and "to insure the right of equal opportunity to work and to advance in life" for all persons. The report also favored a Federal law to eliminate the poll tax.

The minority also was reported to have recommended ending segregation in the District of Columbia.

Try to Reach Accord.

For more than an hour late yesterday Senator Millikin was closeted with spokesmen for the two viewpoints on the subcommittee, trying to get them to agree on a compromise. When the meeting ended Senator Millikin said:

"We considered the opposing

views of the two reports and tried to bring them together. We offered what we thought was a good adjustment, but it was not accepted.

As a result, the Senator said the two reports would be laid before the full Resolutions Committee, which convened for the first time at 9 o'clock this morning, Washington time. Senator Millikin was not sure whether he would submit his alternative compromise, the nature of which has not been divulged.

No Definite Agreement.

Present at yesterday's unsuccessful peace meeting were Mrs. Mildred Younger of California, representing the majority on the subcommittee, and Mr. Parsons and Mr. Hart.

As the three left the conference they told reporters, "Up to now we have reached no definite agreement."

Asked if the issue of Federal vs. State control of the problem would be taken to the floor of the convention, Mr. Parsons said: "That depends on what the full committee does."

Mrs. Younger said she believed that an agreement might have been possible if the entire subcommittee had been able to meet with Senator Millikin yesterday.

New Effort to Be Made.

Indications were that the minority might go along with the idea of a voluntary Federal fair employment practice commission provided it involved no Federal enforcement powers.

The full Resolutions Committee, composed of nearly 100 members from all the States and territories, will make every effort today to iron out the problem and avoid taking it to the floor of the convention.

Although the platform ordinarily would go to the convention today, the fight over contested Southern delegations may delay its presentation until tomorrow.

THE WEEK'S NEWS IN TABLOID

By Cliff W. Mackay
Editor, AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers

Top Civil Rights Hatchet Man

CHICAGO — Don't expect the Republican platform being drafted here to say very much about civil rights. For one thing, Robert A. Taft and Dwight D. Eisenhower are confirmed states righters. For another, Sen. Eugene D. Milliken of Colorado is chairman of the resolutions committee. Mr. Milliken is the Republican party's No. 1 civil rights hatchet man. To prove this, turn to Page 1212, Vol. 92, Part 1, Congressional Record. There you will find recorded a bitter speech against an FEPC with teeth made on Feb. 9, 1946 by the Senator from Colorado.



Sen. Taft

He interpreted the Republican plank of 1944 as meaning the GOP favored an FEPC resting on persuasion. The 1944 plank said: "We pledge the establishment by Federal legislation of a Fair Employment Practice Commission." So strong was the Milliken denunciation of the whole idea of FEPC, Sen. Richard Russell, (D., Ga.) leader of the Dixiecrat block, rushed over and shook his hand. Taking the Senate floor, Mr. Russell, now a candidate for President, said:

"I would that I had words to express my congratulations to the great Senator from Colorado (Mr. Milliken) for the historical address he has just delivered. No greater statement of sound American principles has fallen from the lips of any Senator in this body since my tenure here. . . ."

Sen. Milliken has never changed his mind about FEPC since then. With both Taft and Eisenhower on record against such an agency with enforcement powers, you can bet that the Colorado Senator will ride roughshod over any suggestions that a strong plank on the subject be inserted in the 1952 platform. Already it is being whispered around the lobby of the Conrad Hilton Hotel that Milliken would like to turn back the clock to the GOP civil rights plank of 1940. That innocuous paragraph contained no mention of FEPC.

It reads as follows: "We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall

be given a square deal in the economic and political life of this nation. Discrimination in the civil service, the Army and Navy and all other branches of the government must cease. To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen. Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted."

Smoke-Filled Room Gossip

Robert A. Taft is seeing nothing but stars in Chicago these days. He probably wishes he had two pairs of eyes. He could use one set to watch Gen. Eisenhower's manipulators. He needs the other to keep up with the backstage string-pulling of Gen. Douglas MacArthur. 'Mac' says he's for Taft, but he's not above promoting his own candidacy. . . . Edgar B. Brown, who has become a 'Charley McCarthy' for Col. Bertie McCormick, now argues that no civil rights legislation is needed. Plugging for Taft, he insists if the Ohio Senator is elected, he will enforce the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. That would bring about the same results as passage of FEPC, anti-poll tax and antilynching laws, he contends. Brother Brown is not having too easy a time getting this argument across to delegates demanding legislation.



Mr. Brown

None of the smart - money boys will bet on it. But those who have access to the smoke-filled rooms on the top floors of the Conrad Hilton Hotel here are saying that Taft will walk away with the nomination by the second or third ballot. If he doesn't get it by then, they contend, the shift will be to General Eisenhower.

... And Speaking About People

Praises Truman For Clear 'Rights' Speech

WASHINGTON — Congressman Samuel Yorty of the 26th district of California, in a letter to President Truman last week, congratulated him for his "clear and forceful re-emphasis of the official position of the Democratic party on civil rights."

Yorty referred to the recent speech of the President at the Howard university commencement. The letter went on to say, "Mutual respect without regard to race, creed or color is commanded by all of the really great religions of the world. I do not see how anyone can profess to believe in or even understand the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man so long as he judges God's sons and daughters on the basis of color."

"We must, of course," as you stated, continue to work for full recognition of the inherent equality of all of our people. To do otherwise would involve the sacrifice of our noblest principles. There is no compromise possible. Every human being on earth is by divine law entitled to the same opportunity as every other human being. This he must and will have.

"Of course, there are presently urgent practical reasons for abolishing racial discrimination in this country which should be evident even to those who cannot understand the higher spiritual reasons for doing so. The free world needs to band together men of all races and creeds in a crusade for perpetuation of freedom based upon individual dignity. America's clarion call may fall upon deaf ears in many parts of the world if we fail to practice at home what we preach abroad."

Civil Rights Plank Vital, Reuther Says

United Auto Workers' President Walter Reuther Monday predicted defeat for the Republican Party if it did not adopt a strong civil rights plank.

In a radio interview over Station WWDC with Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of

Colored People, Mr. Reuther criticized the national convention for not putting "people with more stature in their party" on the sub-committee on civil rights.

"Evidently they feel that the civil rights is a secondary issue," he said. "(That) it is sort of a fringe problem, when really it is one of the most basic problems of the election."

"I think they are making a tragic mistake," he continued, "because I do not believe that any political party can win the 1952 elections unless it stands four-square for the kind of civil rights program that will make it possible for America to square its practical performance in the field of human rights that the American democracy so nobly promises."

Following Up Civil Rights

Delay in Enacting Legislation Against Discrimination Opposed

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Reform movements in American history have been slow in starting and long in gaining the momentum necessary to effect their consummation. The tardiness in accepting needed change has too often been used as an argument aimed at defeating reform measures. Vested interests and intellectual inertia have always advised "caution," "prudence" and "judiciousness" in the face of reform legislation whether it be for the abolition of slavery or for universal suffrage or for social security or the minimum wage or civil rights.

The fight now is centered about the maelstrom of enacting legislation to prohibit discriminatory practices in employment. The die-hard forces of reaction proclaim vehemently that the time has not yet arrived when this nation can safely follow the gospel of liberty, justice and equality of opportunity that it preaches daily in the councils of the United Nations or over the wave lengths of the Voice of America.

Unfortunately, today we are in a position where we cannot sacrifice principle to expediency or to spend time "psychologically preparing the South for F. E. P. C.," as a letter of Aug. 6 to THE TIMES suggested. Too many nations are suspended precariously be-

tween allegiance to us or to the Communists in the event of war for us to waver now. These nations are waiting to see whom they can trust, to determine whether the United States or Russia is telling the truth, for both claim to champion men's rights.

If we are to succeed at the conference table we must be sure there is nothing we need hide at home, nothing we are ashamed of, whose existence we excuse with equivocations and whose extermination we delay by claiming the necessity of "preparing for a new emotional attitude, a new way of seeing things."

In these critical times of international turmoil we cannot afford to falter over rationalizing what we know to be counter to our highest principles; we have no choice but to go forward fearlessly, doing what we know to be right.

ELLIOT VESELL

New York Aug 11, 1952.

The South Is Taken For A Ride

The Dothan Eagle

SENATOR SPARKMAN and the other tion.

Fair Dealers who helped draft it can say what they please about the civil rights plank in the Democratic Party's 1952 platform being acceptable to the South and, further, that this plank is milder than the one on the same subject in 1948.

But it isn't so. For the purpose of confusion, this year's edition didn't use the words "Fair Employment Practices Commission," but it still urges enactment of legislation to establish a federal employment bureau with compulsory powers.

Why else would it be hailed as "satisfactory" by such holy-rollers as Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Walter White of the NAACP, President Harry Truman, the Roosevelts, and the Council on Human Rights, the second largest Negro organization in the United States?

Senator Humphrey said it is as strong as the 1948 plank that he rammed through the convention at Philadelphia. White described it as a "signal victory for the forces of liberals in the party." President Truman boasted "it says what it means and means what it says." The Roosevelts gave it their endorsement as a "no retreat" platform. The Council on Human Rights said it is "a document of real merit."

Of course, the plank was written with the admitted purpose of making it appear to be one thing to the holy-rollers and another to southerners. If that is the "compromise" of which Senator Sparkman boasted, then it is a compromise at the expense of the South's position on this federal meddling. It was the South that yielded and our senator, who is doubling as the vice presidential candidate, is welcome to all that he can wring out of his handiwork on the platform committee.

Here is the platform, word for word, comma for comma:

"The Democratic Party is committed to support and advance the individual rights and liberties of all Americans.

"Our country is founded on the proposition that all men are created equal. This means that all citizens are equal before the law and should enjoy equal political rights. They should have equal opportunities for education, for economic advancement, and for decent living conditions.

"We will continue our efforts to eradicate discrimination based on race, religion or national origin.

"We know this task requires action, not in just one section of the nation, but in all sections. It requires the co-operative efforts of individual citizens and action by the states and local governments. It also requires federal action (italics ours). The federal government must live up to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and must exercise the powers vested in it by the Constitu-

"We are proud of the progress that has been made in securing equality of treatment and opportunity in the nation's armed forces and the civil service and all areas under federal jurisdiction. The Department of Justice has taken an important part in successfully arguing in the courts for the elimination of many illegal discriminations, including those involving rights to own and use real property, to engage in gainful occupations and to enroll in publicly supported higher educational institutions. We are determined that the federal government shall continue such policies."

This latter paragraph is pregnant with significance.

It not only endorses the intervention of federal attorneys in lawsuits, like when they went before the Supreme Court to knock out real estate covenants and when they appeared in court to open southern colleges to all races, but puts the party on record as demanding they continue such intervention in this and other actions aimed at wiping out segregation.

However, this isn't all.

The civil rights plank also puts the party on record as favoring an end to the filibuster, the only weapon the South has left to block objectionable legislation.

This is the plank that Senator Sparkman and the Fair Dealers tell the South it can "live with" and is a "victory" for the South. It's the same thing that Humphrey, White, Truman, et al boast is a victory for them.

Who is being taken for a ride?

51 National Groups Prepose Civil Rights Planks For The GOP

CHICAGO — (ANP) - Representatives of 51 national organizations participating in the 1952 Leadership Conference on Civil Rights last week presented to the Republican resolutions committee recommendations for a 9 point civil rights plank, including support of an FEPC with enforcement powers and a pledge to revise the rules of the U.S. senate to eliminate the rule by the veto, owner of the filibuster.

Top priority was given in the proposed plank to a revision of the senate rule 22 which required 64 senators to invoke closure to halt a filibuster. The filibuster rule, according to the conference, is responsible for the fact that "no federal civil rights law has been enacted since 1875." The suggested plank would provide for terminating debate by majority vote.

Those planks were mapped out in the conference room of the Morrison hotel here by the organizations' representatives. The group faced a sub-committee on the GOP platform. This committee consisted of George L. Hart of Washington, D.C., Roy Bell of Montana and Mrs. Mildred Younger of California, chairman.

The opening gun for an effective civil rights plank in the GOP platform was fired by Gov. Harold Stassen, who went all out for civil rights, labor, agricultural development and touched on Foreign policy. He stressed that favorable consideration should be given to civil rights for all Americans. He stressed an anti-lynch law, anti-poll tax and FEPC. In a well prepared address, a copy of which he left with the committee, Gov. Stassen pleaded for those planks to be placed in the Republican platform.

"Our Constitution guarantees the enjoyment of full equality to Americans of every race, color, religion and national origin. In order that that guarantee may be realized in our country and secured for our people, we pledge our party to the following 9-point program on civil rights."

The 9 points designated by specific language of each point were: Rule 22 and the Filibuster; Fair Employment; No Segregation; No Lynching; Elections; Department

of Justice Permanent Civil Rights Commission; (Statehood Hawaii and Alaska) and the District of Columbia, granting home rule to the District of Columbia.

Among the churchmen who signed the petition were Adams, Dallas, Texas.

McCorvey calls on Demos to make 'rights' plank clear

BY FRED TAYLOR
News staff writer

A new cry against the Democratic Party's "civil rights" plank was raised today by Mobile's Gessner T. McCorvey, Dixiecrat leader.

McCorvey, who helped lead the 1948 revolt, called on Gov. Adlai Stevenson and Sen. John Sparkman to "spell out" their views on the touchy racial plank in the party platform.

And he warned that unless the Democratic ticket leaders take a clear-cut stand for leaving "civil rights" problems to the states, many Southern States' Rights Democrats will vote Republican in November.

McCorvey voiced his protest even though a States' Rights leader here said he did not think the Dixiecrats would fight the Stevenson-Sparkman presidential ticket.

This was the opinion of Sidney W. Smyer, likewise one of the 1948 revolt leaders. He said he did not think the watered-down 1952 "civil rights" plank would be much of an issue in the campaign.

"I SAY THIS in view of Gov. Stevenson's stand on civil rights," said Smyer, who pointed out Stevenson long ago declared he thought civil rights problems were ones for the states first to try and solve. This has been Sparkman's position all along.

Meantime in Washington, Sparkman told Negro Cong. Adam Clayton Powell that he would "work wholeheartedly for the Democratic program."

The Associated Press reported the vice presidential nominee gave this answer, in refusing to be pinned down by the New York Negro congressman on a series of specific questions regarding civil rights. The questions were contained in a telegram made public by Powell, who represents New York's Harlem district.

"As an experienced legislator," Sparkman telegraphed Powell, "you will understand, I am sure, that no one can properly give blanket assurance in advance as to his action on every measure."

Powell had asked Sparkman if he would do all in his power to "make the Democratic platform anti-filibuster plank effective." There is dispute between Southern and Northern Democrats as to the meeting of this provision in the platform.

"I can assure you, as I have assured others in all parts of the country," Sparkman wired Powell, "of my firm conviction that our platform provides a program on which we can wage our campaign and win."

"I pledge myself to work wholeheartedly for the Democratic program. Not only during the campaign but afterwards in the vice presidency if, as I am confident will be the case, the people once again choose the Democratic Party as the vehicle of our liberal faith."

McCorvey, state Democratic chairman 12 years until Democratic regulars wrested control of party machinery from the Dixiecrats, didn't say how he would vote. But he praised the Republican stand on "civil rights."

THE MOBILE ATTORNEY said the GOP plank referring to state responsibilities for handling civil rights matters "sounds like some of the planks in the platform of the great Democratic Party which we and our grandfathers have supported throughout the years."

Meanwhile, Bill Brooks, chairman of the Second District Republican Executive Committee, said an organization to campaign for the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket had been set up in Brewton.

On the other side of the political fence, Rep. Noble Russell, Democrat, predicted North Alabama

will vote Democratic in November. He said his section would have voted Democratic anyway, but that the nomination of Sparkman for president made it a certainty. He pointed out that Sparkman said he felt comfortable with the split ticket Eisenhower team was elector candidates. The split ticket Eisenhower team was elector candidates. The split ticket Eisenhower team was elector candidates.

Civil Rights

Today more than ever the atmosphere is filled with talk about Civil Rights and the various minds are filled with thoughts of Civil Rights. Many consider it a great problem. Some steeped in blind ignorance and no sense of justice say they wish the Civil Rights requirements could be ratified in some compromising way.

It has long been settled that you can't legislate morality. Public policy customs and the desire of the general public to be law-abiding on every legal issue without reservation. We need no more laws on the book, all we need is enforcement of the laws we have and enforcement of the Federal Constitution.

You can reflect with interest that England, Canada, Switzerland have no civil rights laws affecting any specified race and yet all within those jurisdictions are treated the same under the circumstance. We don't need Civil Rights Statutes when the U. S. Constitution guarantees all the liberties and freedom that the Civil Rights Statutes promises to give.

The Negroes all over America are entitled to One Process of Law under the amendment of the Federal Constitution.

Due process of Law means that a person shall not be deprived of life, liberty or prosperity.

The 14th Amendment provides "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States, therefore all Jim Crow laws are not only void but have always been void yet illegally enforced. The 14th Amendment further provides that no state shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. That means all persons shall be protected alike and when they are not that is a violation of the Federal Constitution.

The legislators nor do-gooders can't see the forest for the trees. It is true that many of those working for the Civil Rights are there only to see that the law is not enacted. The interests which they represent does not want Civil Rights legislature enacted. For those who are honest sincere and want to do a job they should only seek to have the Federal Constitution followed to the letter, that would solve the Civil Rights Question.

Civil Rights bettering U. S., Truman tells Naacp

OKLAHOMA CITY — America is wiped out in a wave of hatred and a "stronger and better and more united" country because of the civil rights program. President Truman said in a telegram of greeting to the 43rd annual convention of the Naacp, which closed here last Saturday.

The President assured the delegates that "the 10-point program I sent to Congress in 1948 is still my civil rights program for the American people."

When he addressed the Naacp convention in Washington five years ago, Truman recalled, "it looked as though the wartime gains in equal rights and equal

opportunities were about to be wiped out in a wave of hatred and violence similar to that which first world war. I was determined that this should not happen again. I was certain that the President of the United States must take the initiative in developing an affirmative civil rights program."

Only two items in his 10-point program have been enacted into law, the President noted. However, he predicted that the day the entire program is adopted "people will begin to wonder what all the fuss was about and why it wasn't done sooner." Then he said, "it will be taken for granted just like the many advances that have been made in the last five years by the execu-

tive branch and by the courts, by state and local governments, and by private organizations.

The advances which have been made, Truman asserted, "Have taken place because this program has been held high before the American people. The conscience of the American people is a tremendous force when it is aroused. It has been awakened by the civil rights program and our country is stronger and better and more united because of it."

HARRIMAN, KEFAUVER

In "sincere greetings" to the convention, W. Averill Harriman expressed his "personal conviction on civil rights including the responsibility of the federal government for affirmative action through the enactment of legislation of adequate and effective sanction to ensure fair employment practices, the personal security of all citizens against mob violence and the full enjoyment by all citizens of the elective franchise and all public facilities without artificial barriers or distinctions based upon race, creed or national origin."

Senator Estes Kefauver hailed the Naacp which "through unity, strength and perseverance has achieved great advances for minority citizens of America. In your battle for equality and justice for our people your organization has made wonderful strides. I hope and trust that the Naacp will continue to carry on its very human work."

A telegram from Mrs. Roosevelt, a member of the Naacp board of directors, reminded the delegates that "these are critical times and what we do in the United States is watched by the world, so our problems are no longer confined to the United States, but their solution is of importance internationally."

Civil Rights Failures Scored

THE failure of federal, state and municipal governments to take forthright action during 1951 to eliminate discrimination and segregation and to curb lawless assaults against minority groups was sharply denounced in the recently published joint annual report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Jewish Congress, entitled "Civil Rights in the United States, 1951."

The report, which describes civil rights developments in employment, housing, education, and all other areas, provides a full summary and analysis of these trends as revealed during the past year.

The Congress of the United States is censured for giving less consideration to civil rights legislation in 1951 than any other time during the past five years.

State legislatures likewise produced no broad anti-discrimination statutes despite vigorous campaigns by private groups. Fair employment bills were defeated in the legislatures of 17 out of the 18 states in which they were introduced during 1951.

The fight against discrimination and bias in housing still remained the most difficult of all the anti-bias struggles and one of the most explosive. It is in this area that the most violence has broken out, resulting in bombing, arson, and vandalism against Negroes, Jews, Catholics, and other groups.

According to the authors, the recent increase in lawlessness is clearly a result of the growing strength of civil rights forces. By resorting to violence and intimidation, the bigots and racists are making a last-ditch stand against a battle they fear they have already lost.

Dim Outlook For Civil Rights

(From The Sun-Reporter, San Francisco, Calif.)

Th closer we come to the month of July and the political party conventions, the more we see, hear, and read about civil rights and FEPC. With the possible exception of "The Silent One," General Eisenhower, all the presidential aspirants have been spouting off either for or against the civil rights program.

Not surprising was the claim of a Louisiana spokesman for Senator Richard Russell of Georgia who described Russell as "unalterably opposed to any FEPC legislation." (To which we add that most right-minded American citizens are just as unalterably opposed to Russell.) But the interesting portion of Russell's position is the statement credited to him that he will not walk out of any national convention on an FEPC fight. Russell served notice on Mississippi and the other State Righters, who bolted the 1948 Democratic convention in Philadelphia, that he will not be the candidate for a third party of walkouters.

Does this mean that the Senator from Georgia feels that he will be able to gain ground within the party ranks with his anti-civil rights program? This possibility must come in for valid consideration in view of the fact that at the present time there are no popular aspirants for the presidential race in the Democratic party who are outspoken champions of the civil rights program.

In the Republican Party ranks we find Harold Stassen, former governor of Minnesota, admitting a dim view of his own chances of winning the nomination of his party, but going further to express what might be construed as the position of the "more liberal and progressive" element of the Republican party on the civil rights issue. The former Minnesota governor said he believed that an FEPC measure would have to be watered down in order to get through Congress. Gradual steps are necessary, he believes, but the Republican party should commit itself to a compulsory FEPC in order to get any fair employment bill through Congress. Stassen predicts that an FEPC with mild teeth could pass under any Republican President.

All of this leads us to conclude that minority groups have little to look forward to in the way of civil rights gains through the commitments of either the Republican or Democratic party.

TRUMAN PREDICTS CIVIL RIGHTS SWAY

Message Read to Association for the Colored, Which Favors Only Harriman as Candidate

By WILLIAM M. BLAIR

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OKLAHOMA CITY, June 24—

President Truman told the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today that the ten-point program he sent to the Congress in 1948 was "still my civil rights program for

The association leaders dismissed all Republican candidates and all but one Democratic candidate as unsuitable from a civil rights standpoint. The lone exception was Averell Harriman, Director for Mutual Security and an aspirant for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Commission Report Recalled

Mr. Truman recalled to the convention the "momentous report" of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and said it was a "restatement of our principles of freedom and justice and showed us how to bring them into daily practice."

The only two points adopted by Congress from the President's program provided for naturalization of Orientals and civilian control of certain Pacific islands.

Roy Wilkins of New York, the association's administrator, described the proposed Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission and civil rights as the "hot-test" of all domestic issues in this Presidential election year in his keynote address prepared for delivery at the first session tonight.

Mr. Wilkins and Walter White of New York, executive secretary of the association, observed that the association did not campaign for any candidate but placed each candidate's record before its members.

"The Negro vote doesn't belong to any party," Mr. White had told a press conference.

Mr. White said the association was urging Negroes to register and vote. In Southern states with poll taxes Negroes are being urged to pay the tax to get the franchise, he said.

"We now have 2,000,000 voters in the South," he said.

He credited the Negro vote in Ohio, Illinois and California with swinging the election to President Truman in 1948.

Without mentioning any Presidential candidate by name, Mr. Wilkins detailed why, in the opinion of the association, they failed to measure up.

Taft's Stand Held Unacceptable

"The leading Republican contender, the Senator from Ohio (Robert A. Taft), has declared for State's rights," Mr. Wilkins said. "To us that means leaving us and our fate to the likes of Governor Warren of Florida and his state's bombings and murders."

General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower also was dismissed as an advocate of state's rights.

Of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, Mr. Wilkins said, "He is a general who until recently commanded the army in the Far East which, under him, was completely segregated."

Turning to Democrats, Mr.

Wilkins said of Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, the Senator was "a very honest man on civil rights: he is not for them and says so in plain language."

Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee "has said that personally he is opposed to F. E. P. C. with enforcement powers, but if nominated he will follow whatever the Democratic platform contains on F. E. P. C.," he continued.

Mr. Harriman, he noted, declared flatly in favor of F. E. P. C. with enforcement powers—the only kind of F. E. P. C. that is worth a hoot."

Mr. White said that Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson had a good record in Illinois. He added, however, that Governor Stevenson had indicated he would not be adverse to "weakening on civil rights and having Russell as Vice President."

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL VOTED

Senate Group Favors a Body Allowing Some Local Powers

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, June 24—The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare approved by a 9 to 3 vote today a new civil rights measure designed to prevent or stop discriminations in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

The bill was reported to the Senate at a stage of an adjournment rush that left its chances for consideration by this Congress remote if not wholly out of the question.

The bill was viewed, in the light pattern for a civil rights platform plank to be taken to the Chicago party conventions next month. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, was its chief sponsor.

In 1948 Mr. Humphrey, as a member of the resolutions committee of the Democratic National Convention, led the fight that forced the "strong" civil rights plank into the platform, and prompted groups of Southern delegates to bolt. The repercussions resulted in the State Rights party in the South.

In the sponsorship of the measure, Mr. Humphrey was joined by eight other Democrats, Senators Herbert H. Lehman of New York, William Benton of Connecticut, Theodore F. Green and John O. Pastore of Rhode Island, Harley M. Kilgore of West Virginia, Warren G. Magnuson of Washington, James E. Murray of Montana and Blair Moody of Michigan.

Seven Republicans, however, also joined in the sponsorship. They were headed by Senator Irving M. Ives of New York, whose own employment practices bill patterned

after the New York State law of which he was author, was blended at points into the measure. The other Republicans were Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon, Robert C. Hendrickson of New Jersey, William E. Jenner of Indiana, Edward Martin of Pennsylvania, William Langer of North Dakota and Charles W. Tobey of New Hampshire.

In the background were both Democratic and Republican Presidential aspirants whose positions on the civil rights issue might, at least in the long run, call for a gingerly writing of the civil rights planks in the platforms.

Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, a member of the Labor Committee, voted against the Humphrey-Ives bill today.

Senator Taft, in past tests, has favored a plan for voluntary eliminations of discriminations in employment.

The Humphrey-Ives bill would establish a national group to be called the Equality of Opportunity in Employment Commission. Its work would cover employment practices only among employers hiring fifty or more workers engaged in production or services concerning interstate commerce. It was estimated that the plan would involve no more than 75,000 of the 3,500,000 employing concerns of the country.

To give emphasis to the state rights phase of the civil rights issue, the commission would be directed to cede, or delegate, its jurisdiction and powers to the greatest extent to state and municipal areas that had their own civil rights laws.

Enforcement would not set in unless mediation and conciliation efforts to settle problems failed.

GOP on Civil Rights

WHILE the civil rights plank adopted by the Republican convention is forthright and undoubtedly sincere, it must be a considerable disappointment to all who looked for a straightforward espousal of punitive Federal Fair employment legislation.

We agree with the plank when it points out that there has been a deplorable amount of "duplicity and insincerity of the party in power in racial and religious matters," but the fact remains that so far the Democratic party bosses have not bitten their tongues in advocating a compulsory and punitive FEPC.

What they will say in their civil rights plank is anybody's guess, but it could scarcely be more innocuous than the Republican

The promise to enact anti-lynching and anti-poll tax laws, to end jim crow in Washington, and to appoint qualified Negroes to high positions in the Federal Government, is in the political tradition and sounds excellent—but it is definitely not what Negroes wanted.

Negro Leaders Hit Own Parties On Civil Rights

But Urban League Is Told Compromise Couldn't Be Helped; Politics Blamed

New York Republicans and Democratic Negro leaders criticized their own parties yesterday for compromising too much on civil rights to placate the South at the recent Chicago national conventions.

But Harold C. Burton, Harlem Republican leader, and City Councilman Earl Brown, a Democrat, told a luncheon of the Urban League of Greater New York at the Hotel Theresa that the compromises couldn't be helped because of "politics," and there were compensations.

Mr. Burton said Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Republican Presidential nominee, had led him to believe that if elected President he would support Federal fair employment legislation applicable to states that did not pass anti-discrimination laws of their own. Gen. Eisenhower invited him to a conference in Chicago July 8, Mr. Burton said, and on the strength of "what he told me on civil rights I switched my support from Sen. Robert A. Taft to the general."

Mr. Brown, who attended the Democratic convention as an alternate delegate and the Republican convention as a reporter for a national magazine and lobbyist for civil rights, said the Democratic platform declaration on civil rights, while wordy, was better than that of 1948 because it added a declaration against Senate filibusters to its statement in favor of federal civil rights legislation.

While strongly favoring Gov. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois as the Presidential candidate, Mr. Brown said the other northern delegates disapproved of Sen. John Sparkman, of Alabama, as his running mate, and would have preferred either Gov. Mennen Williams of Michigan or Sen. Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee.

But he said he would support the Democratic ticket and platform because it offered most to Negroes and the country.

Mr. Burton explained at great length his action in support of the Republican platform, despite its "weakness" on civil rights. When the time came for a showdown fight over civil rights, he said, Hobson Reynolds, a Philadelphia Negro Republican leader, and "every other Negro there ran out on me." He said he knew if he tried to have the 1948 plank, or even a stronger one substituted for the platform committee's report, it would have lost "and we would have elected the Democratic candidate for President before he was nominated."

"In politics you do a lot of things," Mr. Burton said. "A platform doesn't mean a thing, any way."

Senate group offers new civil rights bill

WASHINGTON, June 24 — (AP) — A new civil rights bill which would forbid racial or other discrimination by employers was handed the Senate today by its labor committee.

However, even its backers conceded they had virtually no hope that it would even come up for debate before Congress quits for the national political conventions.

The measure is a new version of the attempt to establish a Fair Employment Practices Commission, this time with a new dress and a new name. It has been dubbed "FEOFE" by its backers because it would create a "federal equal opportunity for employment" commission.

This group would have authority to write rules forbidding discrimination in hiring or other employment problems for reasons of race, religion or national origin. It would apply to industries in interstate commerce which employ 50 or more persons.

G.O.P. Plank Scored By Negro Congressman

Chicago, July 22 (U.P.)—Representative William L. Dawson of Illinois, one of two Negro House members, said today more has been done about civil rights under Presidents Roosevelt and Truman "than under all the Republican presidents combined."

In a speech to the Democratic National Convention, Dawson said, "The Republican Party has not done anything about civil rights, and when you look at their 1952 platform they are not even promising to do anything."

Negroes 'Sold Down The River' By GOP, Demos, Powell Claims

NEW YORK, Aug. 3 (AP) — Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. (D-NY) told 3,500 persons at a Harlem mass meeting today that the Negro was "sold down the river" at both the Democratic and Republican conventions.

The Negro Congressman, in a fighting speech before his constituents, said both national conventions "produced 'Uncle Toms' who spearheaded the sabotaging of civil rights planks in the platforms of the two major parties." Some Negro politicians use "Uncle Tom" as a term of contempt for Negroes whom they regard as compromisers or luke-warm advocates of civil rights.

Powell recalled his pre-convention statement that the Democrats would lose if they did not adopt a forthright civil rights plank and nominate candidates who would fight for it.

Key To Success, Defeat

The Negro, he said "holds in his voting power success or defeat at the polls in November."

He warned that "the Negro voter just will not go to the polls at all" if Democrats follow Republicans in "pussyfooting on the civil rights issue."

Powell said Negroes would vote only for local and state candidates "but not for the tops of the ticket unless between now and November we can get a platform acceptable to us."

He read a telegram from Gov. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, the Democratic presidential nominee, acknowledging a request from Powell for an interview and agreeing to meet him at Springfield, Ill. in a week or 10 days to discuss civil rights.

To Meet Sparkman

He said he also would meet the Democratic vice presidential choice, Sen. John Sparkman of Alabama, to discuss the same topic.

Powell attacked Rep. William Dawson (D-Ill.), Negro vice chairman of the National Democratic Committee, saying Dawson "sold out the entire civil rights issue behind closed doors in the platform committee at Chicago."

He said that when he asked Sen. Herbert Lehman (D-NY) why he had not kept a promise to fight for a platform plank committing the Democrats to FEPC, Lehman replied that when he offered such a plank Dawson voted against it.

Sparkman told him, Powell added, that "all amendments were defeated because Congressman Dawson rose and made a speech asking for a compromise."

In Chicago, Dawson could not be reached for comment. Friends said they believed he was out of town.

Outlines Strong 6-Point Program On Civil Rights

Says We Can't Depend On States Or Men Of Good Will

WASHINGTON—In the most forceful statement on Civil Rights ever made by an American chief executive while in office, President Harry Truman Friday laid down the gauntlet to those who aspire to succeed him to the White House.

Speaking at Howard university commencement exercises, President Truman outlined an unprecedented six-point civil rights legislative program and in so doing dared them all to adopt it.

As several hundred gowned graduates and distinguished educators listened, he asserted that guarantees of "equal opportunities for education, employment and decent living conditions" for all U.S. citizens cannot be left "to the states alone, . . . nor can we rely solely on the efforts of men of good will."

Though Mr. Truman has expressed similarly on the controversial issue of civil rights many times. Friday's address was by far his most embracing and forceful endorsement of the extension of full equality to all minorities in the United States.

His was the second such statement made by outstanding Americans in six weeks. On May 10 in Chicago, J. Watters Waring retired federal judge whose ruling enabled Negroes to participate in the South Carolina Democratic primaries, proposed a civil rights program he challenged presidential candidates of both parties to adopt.

Judge Waring embodied the program in his address at the annual Robert S. Abbott Memorial award dinner at which he was cited for his contribution to human relations.

Mr. Truman spoke on the Howard campus before his scheduled departure by train Friday night for New London, Conn., where on

Saturday he delivered a major defense speech at ceremonies marking the keel-laying of the world's first atomic submarine, the Nautilus.

The chief executive, in recommendations sharply opposed to the position taken by a number of Democratic and Republican presidential aspirants, called for:

1. Abolition of the poll tax.
2. An end to segregation or discrimination in schools and colleges.
3. A ban on discrimination or segregation in public housing and prohibition of "restrictive covenants" in city residential areas.
4. Anti-lynching laws to protect citizens from mob violence.
5. Fair employment practices, with emphasis on non-discrimination in federal contracts.
6. "Equal treatment and equal opportunity" in the earned services.

The President told the 691 members of Howard's graduating class; don't rock the boat. They are so "I am not one of those who feel afraid of rocking the boat that that we can leave these matters up to the states alone, or that we can rely solely on the efforts of men of good will."

"Our federal government must live up to the ideals professed in our Declaration of Independence and the duties imposed upon it by our Constitution."

"The Full force and power of the federal government must stand behind the protection of rights guaranteed by our federal constitution."

Mr. Truman said progress has been made in the past several years toward achievement of the goal of equal civil rights for all citizens, but that "much remains to be done."

He added: "We should realize that much of the trouble in the world today is the result of false ideas of racial superiority. In the past, the conduct of the Democratic nations has too often been marred by a racial pride that has left its scars on the relations between East and West."

The President said the 20th century should be "more than America's century." He declared:

"We want it to be humanity's century . . ."

"If all the people of the world, including the people of the Soviet Union, could know and appreciate this fact, lasting peace and universal justice would not be a dream. They would be a reality."

The chief executive recalled that in 1947 he was advised by many persons "not to raise this whole question of civil rights." But, he said, "you can't cure a moral problem, or a social problem, by ignoring it."

He added: "It is no service to the country to turn away from the hard problems, to ignore justice and human suffering. It is simply not the American way of doing things."

"Of course, there are always a lot of people whose motto is 'don't rock the boat.' They are so afraid of rocking the boat that they stop rowing. We can never get ahead that way."

The President pointed out that the billions of dollars spent by the federal government each year are contributed by "all the people, without discrimination."

He said the money "should be spent in the same way—without discrimination."

Mr. Truman declared that has not always been the case, even though government contracts call for non-discrimination in employment.



PRESIDENT TRUMAN, left, and Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard university, Washington, walk to the speakers stand where Chief Executive addressed the graduating class last Friday.

CORE Condemns Earlham Prexy

RACINE, Wis. — The National Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) condemned Tom Jones, president of Earlham College, Richmond, Ind., for asking a student to leave because of his pending marriage to a Negro fellow student here recently. Mr. Jones was formerly president of Fish University in Nashville, Tenn.

Sparkman Meets The Press

John Sparkman of Alabama "met the press" on television Sunday and spent most of his time explaining his position vis-a-vis civil rights bills. Basically he held that a condition of mutual understanding had been achieved, already, as between civil rights and anti-civil rights. He contended that, in a next Democratic Congress—if that should be the case—a series of so-called civil rights bills could be worked out which would be acceptable to most Southern congressmen. That, at least, is his obvious hope. Quite possibly that is an expectation

not greatly dissimilar from that of the Republicans. It seems adequately evident that neither party wants to create a sharp civil rights issue. From the extremists, however, great pressure will be levied against both to do so. The unidentified brass close to Adlai Stevenson who Sunday was reported as saying Stevenson wanted a strong civil rights effort represents a as-yet unsubstantiated point of view. The report does not offset numerous evidences to the contrary. We doubt pressure groups of any kind are going to make headway with either party on civil rights this year.

\$100,000 Rights Suit Filed In Lynchburg

After American P.1
Birmingham
Truman Is Called 'Mr. Civil Rights'
LYNCHBURG, Va. — Bernard Skipper, 19, of this city, filed a \$100,000 damage suit against four local policemen, Saturday, in which he accused them of violating his civil rights.
Filed in Corporation Court through Reuben E. Lawson, Roanoke attorney, the suit charges that the officers cursed and beat him and arrested him falsely. The accused policemen are C. E. Tomlinson, who commanded the early shift in the precinct, and Patrolmen W. R. Roach, C. T. Ashwell Jr., and V. B. Laughon.
FBI Probe Denounced
The suit was filed following the denunciation Friday by City Manager Robert D. Morrison of an FBI investigation of the case to determine whether Skipper's civil rights had been violated by the officers.

Morrison had stated that he and the police department would not co-operate with the FBI.

He said he felt the investigation was an invasion of an "area in which the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia are sufficiently broad to protect the rights of all its citizens."

Chief "Whitewashed" Cops

The official pointed out that Police Chief J. H. Boice had investigated Skipper's charges and had reached the conclusion that they were unfounded.

Skipper was arrested by the officers because he was suspected of having committed a felony, he said, and no more force was used in making the arrest than was necessary.

Not A One Of Alabama's Congressmen

Advertisement
THE ADVERTISER ventures the assertion that, of Alabama's nine congressmen, not a single one will stand up on his hind legs within the borders of Alabama and indorse the Democratic civil rights plank written by John Jackson Sparkman.

If you doubt it, write them for a frank, specific answer.

We venture the assertion that not a single one of Alabama's nine congressmen would fail, if pressed, to either repudiate the Sparkman plank or mumble, "No comment."

Sparkman's devoted colleague and buddy, Sen. Lister Hill, who placed Sparkman in nomination for vice-president, has repudiated the plank.

Sen. Hill said in a written statement to *The Mobile Press Register*:

"I do not accept the civil rights plank."

The Advertiser does not believe there is a single Alabama congressman who will say: "I accept the civil rights plank."

★
THE plank calls for war in the courts on segregation and federal action in general. The plank calls for silencing Southern filibusters.

One of the comical chapters in this presidential campaign is likely to be Sparkman's effort to sell the plank both to Walter White and to his native Alabama.

It is whimsical that Sparkman has convinced Hill that the plank is odious to Alabama, but has not yet convinced the Negro minorities in the North that the plank is what they sent for.

Sparkman recently wired what was supposed to be a full statement of his viewpoint to the Harlem congressman, Adam Powell, Jr. But Congressman Powell considers the answer evasive and this week the Associated Press reported from New York:

Powell listed the following as the "bare minimum of statements which Gov. Stevenson and Sparkman must make . . . to assure the Negro vote and Powell's personal cooperation:

"A reiteration by Sparkman that he will campaign on the party platform and implement it as much as he is able.

"A statement by Sparkman interpreting the platform as disapproving of the filibuster.

"A promise by Sparkman 'at least to use fairly his powers as presiding officer of the Senate when efforts are made to adopt a reasonable cloture rule' (to limit filibustering).

★
IF SPARKMAN were a candidate for the Senate (as we expect him to be again in 1954), he would, of course, give the Harlem congressman a curt if not growling answer, pointing out his record as a Senate filibusterer and defending the institution of filibustering with the force of a Calhoun.

But Sparkman is not at present an Alabama candidate for the Senate. He is the national candidate of the Democratic Party, and the party has got to carry the Big Bertha states like Powell's New York.

★
THEREFORE, it says here that Alabamians must vote Democratic because Sparkman was born in Alabama, and that New York must go Democratic because the party will enact civil rights.

And, Alabama being in emotional hock to the Democratic Party as it is, the voters will probably let Sparkman have it both ways.

And should Sparkman be elected with Alabama's 11 electoral votes, the party will be able to say without challenge that Alabama accepted Sparkman and indorsed the plank, and on with enactment of a federal cop FEPC. If Alabama goes Democratic, the party will indeed have its FEPC mandate.

★
STEVENSON has said that if the states do not act against segregation and job discrimination, the federal government must move in.

That's the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket. Gov. Persons says it will carry Alabama by a "10 to 1" majority.

If so, what was Alabama's 1948 rebellion all about?

★
MEANWHILE, Tuesday's *Advertiser* reported of our man:

NEW YORK, Aug. 26 (AP)—General Eisenhower stuck steadfastly to his opposition to a compulsory FEPC in a conference today with officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator told newsmen after the conference that Eisenhower made the point that he is opposed to compulsory anti-job discrimination by federal law . . .

Ike has guts. And convictions. He isn't trying to kid the people of his native Kansas. Nor Congressman Powell.

Truman Insists Civil Rights Is Federal Issue

At Howard U., He Attacks

Candidates Who Suggest
States Handle Problem

By Raymond J. Blair

WASHINGTON, June 13.—President Truman, taking sharp issue with most of the Presidential candidates and getting in what apparently was an extra, though indirect, dig at Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, warned today that it is not enough to leave protection of civil rights to the states and "men of good will."

In a commencement address at Howard University, the President renewed his demand for prompt enactment of an all-out civil rights program, including a compulsory Fair Employment Practices Commission backed by "the full force and power of the Federal government."

"I am not one of those who feel that we can leave these matters up to the states alone, or that we can rely solely on the efforts of men of good will," he told the 691 graduates.

"Our Federal government must live up to the ideals professed in our Declaration of Independence and the duties imposed upon it by our Constitution. The full force and power of the Federal government must stand behind the protection of rights guaranteed by our Federal Constitution."

Mr. Truman noted that only two of the ten recommendations he made to Congress in 1948 on civil rights legislation have been adopted, and said he would continue "in office and out," to urge Congress to enact the remainder.

The Chief Executive reviewed progress in recent years in guaranteeing Negroes the right to vote, by other schools, and granted some reducing racial discrimination in education, housing and the Federal government, enacting state anti-lynch laws and ending segregation in the armed forces, but he said "much remains to be done."

tion in the armed services," Mr. Truman recalled. "Some of our greatest generals have said that our forces had to have segregated units. But our experience has proved that this was nonsense."

Mr. Truman didn't name any names, but he may have meant Gen. Eisenhower, who told a Senate committee on universal military training, on April 3, 1948, that he favored at least some segregation of Negro soldiers.

Gen. Eisenhower, now a leading candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination, testified at that time that he was for "organizing the Negro down to include units no larger than platoons."

"If you make a complete amalgamation," Gen. Eisenhower said, "what you are going to have is, in every company the Negro is going to be relegated to the minor jobs, and he is never going to get his promotion to such grades as technical sergeant, master sergeant, and so on because the competition is too tough. . . . I believe he is entitled to the chance to show his wares."

Tells Army Progress
President Truman said that some time ago the Navy and Air Force eliminated racial restrictions and the Army, "from Tokyo to Heidelberg," is moving toward this goal. "In the Far East," he said, "when Gen. (Matthew B.) Ridgway took command, he ordered the progressive integration of all troops in his command, and you have seen the results in the wonderful performance of our troops in Korea."

A majority of Presidential candidates favor leaving the civil rights issue to the states. Gen. Eisenhower, in his recent Abilene press conference, said he was unalterably for equality among all types of American citizens. "I really believe we can do more by leadership in getting the states to do it than to make it a Federal compulsory thing," he told reporters.

He reiterated this view at adopted, and said he would continue "in office and out," to urge Congress to enact the remainder.

The survey countered that all schools sometimes accepted outstanding students already accepted reducing racial discrimination in education, housing and the Federal government, enacting state anti-lynch laws and ending segregation in the armed forces, but he said "much remains to be done."

cent, or fourteen of twenty-five more self-government for island possessions.

"Don't Rock the Boat"
"I wish I could say to you who are graduating today that no opportunity to use your skills and knowledge would ever be denied you," the President said, noting that he had been denied a college education and some people are denied opportunities because of racial prejudice.

He recalled that in 1947 many people advised him not to raise the civil rights issue. "Of course, there are always a lot of people whose motto is 'Don't rock the boat,'" the President noted. "They are so afraid of rocking the boat that they stop rowing. We can never get ahead that way."

He said that because of this nation's diversity of races and origins, it can better than any other country, "deal as man to man with the different peoples of the globe."

Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, also has said he favors letting the states act first on civil rights before the Federal government steps in.

Taking the other side, Democratic candidates W. Averell Harriman, Mutual Security Administrator; Sen. Brien McMahon, Conn., and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, Minn., have indorsed a strong Federal program.

Recalls Own Program
The President's 1948 ten-point program called for a Federal anti-lynch law, abolition of poll-taxes—the President noted today there are only five poll-tax states left, where there used to be eleven a few years ago—establishment of a permanent F.E.P.C., elimination of "Jim Crowism" in interstate transport, creation of a civil rights division in the Justice Department and Presidential and Congressional commissions on civil rights, strengthening of existing laws to assure equal treatment of all residents, whether citizens or not, suffrage and home rule for the District of Columbia, Hawaiian and Alaskan statehood and greater self-government for Puerto Rico, Guam and other possessions, elimination of racial restrictions barring some Orientals from citizenship, and prompt settlement of Japanese-Americans evacuated from the west coast in World War II.

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Civil Rights Law Again Is Demanded By Truman President Takes Thinly-Veiled Dig At Eisenhower

WASHINGTON, June 13—(AP)

—President Truman called anew today for a civil rights program backed by "the full force and power of the Federal government," and took what seemed to be a thinly veiled dig at General Eisenhower.

Mr. Truman said that experienced and proven to be nonsense a contention by "some of our greatest generals" that white and Negro troops could not be fully integrated in the armed forces.

Four years ago, in testimony to a Senate committee, Eisenhower said he favored organizing Negroes in units of no larger than platoon size—40 to 50 men.

day that after the war he had fought for integration of Negroes, but that the general staff didn't pay much attention.

In an address to a graduation day audience at Howard University, a Negro institution, Mr. Truman spoke out vigorously against those in both parties who favor either reliance on persuasion or on the States, rather than Federal legislation, to combat racial problems.

Opposition in Both Parties

His call for all-out Federal legislation was at variance with the stands of many of the presidential aspirants in both parties. Of those who have substantial numbers of delegate votes, only Democrat W. Averell Harriman has come out strongly for Mr. Truman's civil rights program.

Scorning the leave-it-to-the-States approach, Mr. Truman declared:

"Our Federal government must live up to the ideals professed in our Declaration of Independence and the duties imposed upon it by our Constitution."

"The full force and power of the Federal government must stand behind the protection of rights guaranteed by our Federal Constitution."

Once again, the President called on Congress to enact the full civil rights program he set forth in 1948—including a fair employment practices commission (FEPC) with power to crack down on discrimination in the hiring and firing of Negroes and other minorities.

This was the issue that sparked a Southern revolt against administration Democrats in the 1948 national convention and election.

The President said he will continue to fight "in office and out" for his controversial program.

Eisenhower's Comment

In New York yesterday, Eisenhower told a group of New Jersey Republicans on the subject of Negro troops in the Army:

"During the war they volunteered for front-line duty. We were desperately short of men at one point and 2,400 of them volunteered from service units. They fought with General George Patton's army and fought brilliantly."

"After the war," Eisenhower continued, "I fought for integration of them in the Army, but as you probably know, the general staff doesn't pay much attention to an ex-chief."

Testifying before a Senate committee on universal military training on April 3, 1948, Eisenhower had this to say of segregation in the Army:

smaller units of his own, he can States command in Europe at the prejudice. "In general, the Negro is less well educated than his brother citizen who is white, and if you make a complete amalgamation, what you are going to have is, in every company the Negro is going to be relegated to the minor jobs, and he is never going to get his promotion to such grades as technical sergeant, master sergeant, and so on, because the competition is too tough."

Defending his long and often bitterly criticized fight for Federal civil rights bills, Mr. Truman said, advised him against raising the issue when he created the President's Committee on Civil Rights in 1947. "Then, he said, 'a great working of the American conscience' has scored notable gains in beating down the bars of racial discrimination."

Full Abolition Opposed
As for complete abolition of

PROGRESS IN CIVIL RIGHTS

President Truman was not in a fighting mood during his speech at the Howard University commencement yesterday. He repeated his belief that some sort of federal legislation is necessary to guarantee equal rights to all our people in all our states. But he could and did report some encouraging developments that have taken place without such legislation. He quoted one of his Southern friends as saying: "The last five years are the best years in race relations this country has ever had."

The Second World War was not followed, as the first had been, by "a wave of hate and violence." In the field of political rights during the last five years Tennessee and South Carolina have abolished the poll tax, leaving only five poll-tax states where not long ago there were eleven. In the field of education the principle of no discrimination has made progress. As the President said, "More than a thousand Negro graduates and professional students have been accepted by ten state universities that were closed to Negroes before." In housing the number of projects open to families of all races and creeds has multiplied eight times in eight years. State and local legislation against lynching and the wearing of masks in public has spread. The President didn't believe that the activities of the Department of Justice and the F. B. I. in aiding state and local law-enforcement agencies had "interfered with state rights or upset our system of government." In the federal service the fair employment board set up by the President in the Civil Service Commission has done good work. Fair employment laws have been adopted in many states and cities. Progress has been made in creating equality of treatment in the armed forces.

These things do not show that the brotherhood of man has been attained, even within the American Union. Whether the record speaks for a compulsory F. E. P. C. law or not may be open to doubt. Education may do more than force. But at any rate we are moving in the right direction—not only in the North but in the states of the Old Confederacy.

N. J. Democrats Back Civil Rights For Party Plank

Delegates' Decision
Slaps at Russell

NEPTUNE, N. J., June 15 (AP).—The New Jersey delegation to the Democratic National Convention unanimously committed itself today to a strong civil rights plank in the party platform.

The 36 delegates with 32 convention votes also slapped at the Presidential aspirations of Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia by resolving to oppose any candidate with opposite views. Russell is a leading opponent of Federal civil rights legislation which looms as the major controversy in the Democratic convention.

WILL BE UNINSTRUCTED

The New Jersey delegation took its stand at the same time that it voted to go to the Chicago convention uninstructed for any particular candidate. The resolution on policy was offered by Senatorial candidate Archibald S. Alexander, who said it flowed from discussion of Russell's efforts to obtain the Presidential nomination.

Representative Edward J. Hart was chosen chairman of the delegation. Alexander had declined in advance of today's meeting at the Jumping Brook Country Club to head the delegation as he did in 1948.

Mrs. Elizabeth McBride, of Union, was elected vice chairman and James Lowe, of Essex county, assistant vice chairman. Nina U. Lord, of Mercer county, was chosen secretary.

ASSIGNMENTS LISTED

The delegation also voted the following convention assignments: Platform and resolutions—David I. Wilentz and Mrs. Thelma Parkinson Sharp, of Vineland; Credentials—Commissioner Louis B. Messano, of Jersey City; permanent organization—Arthur Chapin, a CIO spokesman from Essex county; rules and order of business—Commissioner John B. Keenan, of Newark; committee to notify the Presidential nominee—John J. Crean, of Camden; committee to notify the Vice Presidential nominee—Vincent P. Duffy, of Paterson; honorary convention vice president—former Gov. A. Harry Moore; honorary assistant

vice president—Elmer H. Wene, of Vineland; honorary secretary—Mayor Katherine Elkus White, of Red Bank; honorary assistant secretary—Joseph F. Regan, of Edgewater.

Following the meeting of the delegates, the National Democratic Club of New Jersey named Messano as chairman of a picnic to be held Aug. 21 to raise \$250,000 for the fall campaign.

Civil Rights Compromise Talk Attacked

mon. 6-30-52
By the United Press
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey pledged yesterday to have no part in "any shenanigans" to compromise Northern and Southern views on the Democratic Party's stand on civil rights.

The Minnesota Democrat, a leader of the Senate's civil rights bloc, accused compromise leaders of trying to "retreat from the proclaimed program outlining our objectives in the field of civil rights legislation."

Humphrey spoke by telephone from Washington to the annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, meeting in Oklahoma City.

Humphrey asked: "What is it that makes men believe that they have the right to compromise other people's rights?"

"Make no mistake about it," he added. "The majority of the convention delegates have not suffered from discrimination or segregation. They have been able to live in relative safety, security and full citizenship. How easy it is for those to enjoy those privileges to talk about compromise when we compromise none of the rights for ourselves but only the rights of others."

Civil Rights State Problem, Advertiser-Journal Poll Says

"Should civil rights be under federal or state control?"

An overwhelming 66 per cent of readers say the states should regulate and control this matter, eight per cent that it is a matter for federal attention and a surprising 25 per cent believe that neither the federal government nor the states should be given any enforcement powers, the latter predicated on an educational campaign aimed at eliminating discrimination.

Such is the sum and substance of the Advertiser-Journal Opinion Poll of last week, posing the question of civil rights, current in American politics for a number of years.

A majority in favor of state control was expected in this deep South area, where the question has already caused a scism in Democratic ranks, and the only surprising in the vote was the number that advocated a middle course.

Readers made little comment this time. Remarks that were made were either caustic (for states' rights) or derisive (for federal power.)

"Long overdue and sorely needed," said an advocate of federal control, adding: "That civil rights all should be even a matter of discussion, much less controversy, is the very height of the ridiculousness."

A states' control voter feared a police state. Another said "Just a bunch of hooey to even think of Washington bureaucrats telling us and forcing us to do as some of those long-haired boys think. Just about soon have Joe Stalin tell us how to live."

It was simply an old subject answered in a new way. The fact that Dwight D. Eisenhower had said that he favored state control of FEPC had not had time to influence voters one way or another.

Yet Ike's stand was pretty much the one that was taken by the 66 per centers.

Kefauver Promises More Than Talk About Civil Rights

Despite having been repudiated by the colored Trumanites, Senator Estes Kefauver is the best man the colored Democrats have to cling to this year.

Senator Kefauver has gone just as far in his advocacy of "civil

rights" as any Democrat who expects to carry any Southern States can be expected to go. He will even have a hard time keeping the South in line. Let having come out in favor of majority rule in the U. S. Senate. He has said he is in favor of doing away with Senate filibustering. With but few exceptions, filibustering is the method of thwarting majority rule that is employed by Southern Senators.

In an address before colored voters in Los Angeles on Memorial Day, Senator Kefauver said the following:

"If I am elected President, I assure you I will do more than talk. I will do something about starting a program of Education and persuasion which would do more to break down the artificial barriers that separate us one from the other than anything that has yet been done."

Very soon thereafter Senator Kefauver was repudiated by the most vocal of the colored Trumanites. They felt he was taking a dig at the "greatest President since Abraham Lincoln."

RUSSELL WISELY DECLARES HIS STAND ON CIVIL RIGHTS.

FEPC AND "CIVIL RIGHTS" have been the most controversial issues in Senator Russell's campaign for the presidency. Recently U.S. News and World Report interviewed Russell. Questions pertaining to FEPC were asked.

In condensed and slightly re-written form—yet with the meaning carefully preserved these are Russell's answers. I am in favor of enforcement of civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution. I am not in favor of destroying the reserved powers of the states under guise of imposing Civil Rights.

I think the compulsory jail sentence FEPC bill is wholly unconstitutional. If a Catholic decides to organize a little industry and employ 50 members of his church that he knows need work, he has the right to do it. The Federal Government under the Constitution has no right to halt him and say: "You've got to mix these people up. You're discriminating against other groups."

FEPC is not a racial issue. It is not a sectional issue. It goes to the heart of the American free-enterprise system. Give a vast bureaucracy the power to police employment in businesses, farms and enterprises of this country and you abolish the fundamentals of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. Who is going to build a plant, if he is not free to say who is to be the foreman of that plant? People

are just going to give up under this harassment, this forcible police system. I have no objection to a voluntary FEPC. I have no objection to the creation of a deal with educational processes on all job discrimination.

The American people are disturbed about trends toward socialism in this country. They look over the world and see what happens when government has gone into all fields. They see it has resulted in the nationalization of business. They see the wreckage of once proud states because of that nationalization. ... These are the answers that Senator Russell gave. They indicate clear thinking, a desire for justice to all people, and insistence upon individual liberties within existing constitutional restraints. We commend these answers, especially to those persons who criticize Senator Russell without exact knowledge of his opinions upon FEPC and civil rights.

Constitution
(Journal and Constitution)
Sun. 6-15-52
P.2. Section F
Atlanta, Ga.

Russell Says Stand On Civil Rights Plank Won't Be Changed

By the Associated Press

Senator Russell of Georgia vigorously denied today that he would change his position on civil rights because he is seeking the Democratic presidential nomination.

"I have never changed my position one iota," he told a reporter.

At the same time Senator Russell said he is hopeful that the national convention can write a civil rights plank "on which Democrats could stand."

Led Fights for Years.

It may not be possible to write "an extreme plank" that will be acceptable to all viewpoints, he said, adding, "There must be give and take."

For years Senator Russell has been the floor leader of fights against numerous efforts to pass anti-lynch, fair employment and similar civil rights legislation.

He made it clear he does not intend to alter his basic opposition to what he called extreme civil rights measures or platform planks.

"This is a most controversial subject and one on which Democrats and others often have disagreed," he said.

Humphrey Won't Retreat.

Senator Humphrey, Democrat, of Minnesota has served notice he will not retreat from the civil rights provisions of the 1948 Democratic platform.

"There can be no compromise on the party's platform," he said today. "I'm thinking of offering a new section that would put the party on record against use of filibusters to defeat civil rights proposals."

Although unwilling to yield on the platform, Senator Humphrey said he is willing to compromise on actual legislation.

"We must be willing to advance a step at a time," he said.

severely beating the name of President Truman was injected into the case over the heated opposition of S. federal prosecutors.

**Jury Frees Two Of
'Rights' Violation**
MOBILE, Ala. (SNS)—An all-white jury deliberated a half hour here April 18 before acquitting two Brookley Air Force Base workers charged with violating civil rights of Peter Green.
Emmett F. Brewer, 33 and Roy F. Emmons, 26, were accused.

18 NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ADOPT CIVIL RIGHTS PLANK TO BE SUBMITTED TO MAJOR PARTIES

Beach
**Walter White Makes Announcement That
Negro Will Stand For Nothing Less Than
Fair Play**
at 6-14-52
**AMAZED AT SILENCE ON 1948
PLEDGES**

NEW YORK, June 5 — Democrats and Republicans alike will be urged to incorporate in their respective party platforms a seven-point civil rights program developed by representatives of 18 national Negro organizations, Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, announced today.

The program, which was formulated at a conference called by the NAACP, gives top priority to elimination of the filibuster. It calls upon both parties to give "a firm pledge" to make the first order of business in the Senate of the 83rd Congress the curbing of the filibuster through adoption of a new rule to provide cloture by majority vote.

Endorsement of FEPC legislation with enforcement powers is listed as the next most important legislative objective of Negro voters. "We will not be satisfied with platform generalities on this subject," the Negro spokesmen warn.

Other points in the program include demands for commitments to support legislation to make mob violence a federal crime; to ban the poll tax and to protect the right to vote; to outlaw racial segregation in the armed forces, interstate travel, and the District of Columbia; and to deny federal aid for housing, health, education and recreation without guarantees against segregation.

"As Americans," the statement released by Mr. White asserts, Negroes of the United States share with their fellow citizens of all races a deep concern for the national welfare, for security against our foes, within and without, for the integrity of our governmental officials, for the conservation of our economic resources, and for the extension and implementation of democratic

Letters to

Denial of Civil Rights Seen

Segregated Education and Housing,
Race Riots Cited

P. 28
TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

It is well to review the advances of recent years on civil rights, as President Truman did at Howard University on June 13 and as THE TIMES did in its editorial the following day. There has, indeed, been substantial progress. Nevertheless, if the whole picture is examined, it is clear that there is yet no cause for complacency.

Many forms of racial, religious and ethnic discrimination still exist. None are more serious than those which plainly violate existing laws. Two areas which particularly need correction are the denial of constitutional rights of equality and the unchecked and growing use of violence.

On the first of these, it must be remembered that the United States Constitution prohibits discrimination by any Government agency, federal, state or local. This prohibition is widely violated, particularly in the treatment of Negroes in the Southern states.

Only a few examples need be given. Item: Despite Supreme Court decisions forbidding discrimination in state universities, several Southern states continue to maintain law, medicine and other graduate schools for whites only. They simply refuse to admit Negroes and do not even pretend to supply "separate but equal" facilities. Item: The separate grade schools maintained for Negroes in the South are grossly inferior to those open to white children. It would cost over a billion dollars to bring the Negro schools up to equality. Item: The State of Alabama maintains ten major parks, seventeen minor parks, three historic sites, twenty recreational areas, two hotels and eighty-seven taverns on 35,443 acres of state land for whites only. It provides no parks for Negroes.

Discrimination in Housing

The situation in several other Southern states is much the same. Item: Segregation is the usual rule in public housing throughout the country. (Conspicuous exceptions are found in New York City, Newark, Los Angeles and elsewhere.) In many small cities where the number of Negroes eligible for public housing is too small to warrant the building of separate projects for them they simply get no accommoda-

tions. This situation is worse in the North than in the South.

The victims of these illicit practices have little patience with talk about gradual improvement. Every day the practices continue they are illegally deprived of constitutional rights. Governments have no right to take their time about calling a halt to their own official misconduct. How long would we leave in office an administration which announced that it was going to "gradually" stop taking bribes?

As to the growing use of violence against minority groups, this is one aspect of the civil rights scene which has worsened in the last few years. The American Jewish Congress and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have recently pointed out that "violence designed to maintain existing intergroup inequality has increased steadily during the past years and the federal, state and local governments have shown either unwillingness or inability to cope with it." This finding is based on the facts revealed in the fourth of their series of annual balance sheets of group relations, "Civil Rights in the United States in 1951."

Facts in Report

A grim picture is presented in that report—the Cicero riots, the assassination of N. A. A. C. P. leader Harry T. Moore and his wife, an unprecedented number of killings and beatings by police officials in New York, Birmingham and elsewhere, widespread murders and floggings of Negroes, a series of violent acts in Miami directed against Negroes, Jews and Catholics and several serious outbreaks of anti-Semitic violence and vandalism in Philadelphia and elsewhere. None of the Cicero rioters, none of the guilty parties in Florida and few persons elsewhere have been tried or convicted for these offenses.

When the forces of government, for whatever reason, allow laws to be broken with impunity they invite continued and increased lawlessness. If even more serious race riots occur this summer, no one will have the right to be surprised. If anyone is surprised, it will be because public statements on the status of civil rights have too often described our gains without reminding us how far we have yet to go. As of now we can neither be complacent about present conditions nor feel confident of our ability to prevent really serious outbursts of racial violence in the future.

JOSEPH B. ROBISON.

Lynbrook, N. Y., June 20, 1952.

The old South vs. the new

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—The new South will match its strength against the old South when the adherents of Sens. Kefauver and Russell vote in Florida's presidential primary tomorrow.

The effects of the voting will reach much further than the individual fate of the candidates. This contest could prove to be the last gasp of the secessionists who for almost a century have barred Southern statesmen from national leadership.

Sen. Kefauver has deliberately challenged them. He has relegated sectional issues to a minor role. He has gone over the heads of many Southern politicians and senior statesmen with direct appeal to the people below the Mason-Dixon Line to vote as Americans first and Southerners second.

SEN. RUSSELL, a popular and respected national figure in Washington, has been more or less trapped by circumstances into assuming the sectional coloration of such Southern conservatives as Gov. Byrnes and Sen. Byrd. There is reason that he is embarrassed by the support of such men as Gov. Talmadge of Georgia and Gov. Warren of Florida but he is helpless to escape them.

An internationalist and a New Dealer in the field of agriculture, public power and other important matters, Sen. Russell is bearing down here on the civil-rights issue and attempting to convey that his Tennessee colleague with whom he has often voted is far to the left.

If Sen. Russell wins, it will indicate that the tremendous economic and social changes of the Roosevelt era have not erased the deep-seated regional emotions of the old South. The more timid of the liberal Southern politicians, perhaps all, will then fear to move into the Kefauver orbit.

With a really substantial Florida victory, the Georgian may be able to hold together a solid bloc of upwards of 250 Southern delegates, influence the course of events at the national convention, and conceivably get second place on the ticket with a not too belligerent Northern liberal.

A NEAR MISS for Kefauver here may prove a moral victory as he privately admits this is the most difficult of the primaries in which he has been entered. A clear-cut victory would almost certainly widen into chasms the fissures already appearing in the Russell ranks in Alabama, North Carolina and Arkansas. It would dispose of the legend that Kefauver is unacceptable to his native South which has been strongly argued against him.

Reporters who remember the miasma which overhung the South in the 1948 campaign are astonished at the respectful hearing which is being accorded Kefauver even in the so-called "cracker" country in which former Georgians live. There have been no reports to date of a single heckler at a Kefauver meeting in Florida.

In fact, at the meetings of both candidates people are listening with respectful attention rather than the partisan emotion which often marks Southern gatherings. President Truman's retirement from the next presidential scene has apparently resulted in paralysis of the muscles which produced the rebel yell.

The odds are still on Sen. Russell in Florida because of the preponderance of his official support, the many Georgians in the state, and his well-financed campaign. But nobody is counting out Kefauver any more until the votes are in.—C

By Doris Fleeson

Wherry Rule Blocks Rights Says Morse

COLUMBUS, Ohio—"There is no chance of passing any civil rights legislation until my party corrects the Wherry cloture rule," Sen. Wayne Morse, progressive lawmaker from Oregon said here Sunday.

Speaking at the opening of the membership drive the liberal senator declared that the trouble with his party was that "Too many of them walk out on the platform after its adoption. A coalition of Dixiecrats and Northern Republicans worked out a deal that is an act of hypocrisy which is a disgrace to my party."

"We cannot continue a system of second class citizenship for some people and maintain our respect from other nations of the world. If we are going to be on the winning side, we will have to carry around the world the principle of democracy," he asserted.

NAACP Lauds Albuquerque On New Civil Rights Law

NEW YORK—Felicitating the Albuquerque, N. M., City Commission on enactment of a civil rights ordinance, Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has written Chairman Clyde Tingley expressing the hope "that other cities throughout the United States will follow the Albuquerque example and continue our common fight for the extension and preservation of our democratic way of life."

The NAACP, White told the Commission chairman, considers the ordinance "an excellent example of how a democratic people, through their democratic government, protect the rights of minorities and extend and reaffirm the guarantees of equal treatment for all people."

McCOMB NEGRO PREACHER UNDER FIRE FOR TESTIMONY IN STATE CIVIL RIGHTS CASE

McComb, Miss., Mar. 17.—(DSN)

—Rev. S. J. Dickey, McComb Negro Baptist preacher, was reported this week to be under fire from leading white citizens and leading Negro citizens alike for the testimony he gave in the recent case in the Federal court at Jackson, where a former sheriff and several Pike County law enforcement officers were on trial, under an indictment which charged them with violating the civil rights of a young Pike County Negro man, now with the Korean army, and who was flown from Korea to Jackson for the trial.

According to reports, the testimony of the Negro preacher in favor of the sheriff and the other officers, is almost solely responsible for the fact that the all-white jury brought in a verdict of not guilty in the case.

The former sheriff and his associates were charged in the indictment with arresting the Korean veteran, taking him out to the woods and beating him in an effort to force from him a confession that he had robbed a local service station. During the trial the Negro veteran exhibited the marks on his body which resulted from the beating which the officers gave him while he was chained to a tree.

The McComb Negro preacher, Rev. S. J. Dickey, testified as a character witness for the defendants and testified to their "good" reputation in the community.

The former sheriff and his associates were indicted following an investigation of the incident conducted by groups of white church and civic leaders of Pike County.

Humphrey Pledges Civil Rights Fight

OKLAHOMA CITY, June 29 (P)—

Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn) today pledged he would fight for a civil rights plank at the Democratic National Convention similar to the controversial resolution adopted four years ago.

Humphrey made the promise in a speech to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The address was telephoned from Washington.

He called for a Democratic convention and against filibustering in Congress to keep the Democratic party again on the side of the people.

CIVIL RIGHTS IS AN ISSUE FOR BOTH MAJOR PARTIES

June 5-4-52
Middle Ground That Will Not Alienate Too
Many Voters Either Way Is Sought

P. 10 E By CLAYTON KNOWLES

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, May 3—The Arizona, Democratic leader of the civil rights issue which split the Senate, is working actively at this Democratic party in the 1948 Presidential election poses a knotty question, imperative of resolution, for both Democrats and Republicans in the coming campaign.

The difference between victory and defeat for either party could hinge on the answer. Of concern to all minority groups, the issue is particularly keen for the Negro, whose vote could be pivotal in a dozen or more touch-and-go states in the North.

Neither party, in arriving at an answer, wants to do anything to alienate the South with the greatest concentration of Negro population, where the issue is closer and less academic.

The Republicans seek to crack the Solid South, Democratic in voting habit since the Civil War. The Democrats want to repair the damage done four years ago when a Southern revolt, fired by the national convention's strong civil rights plank, cost the Truman-Barkley ticket thirty-nine electoral votes.

Democrats Seek a Formula

With the 1952 conventions nearing, the Democrats seem better prepared than the Republicans to meet the issue. President Truman's announcement that he would not seek re-election took the personal element out of the controversy for the Democrats. It cleared the way for an earnest search, already in progress, for a happy middle-ground on the issue.

The statements of party leaders accent the emphasis that is being placed on moderation in dealing with the problem. Not a single candidate for the Presidential nomination has spoken out for compulsory fair employment practices legislation, for example. Apart from Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, however, all have indicated that they would follow the convention dictate in the matter.

Senator Ernest W. McFarland of

the Senate, is working actively at this stage trying to bring about a meeting of minds on some civil rights bill, probably an anti-lynching measure, that can be passed at the present session of Congress. He is conferring with Democratic colleagues from North and South in an effort to work out a bill.

If such a bill could be passed—and the Senate has been the roadblock hitherto—the Democratic party, having demonstrated its will and capacity to act, need not place so much reliance purely on platform promises.

Republican Position

The Republican approach is more difficult. No one can tell with certainty who the party nominee will be and it is the nominee who will shape the party position. Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, for example, opposes compulsory fair employment practices legislation. What General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower's position is may not be known in advance of the convention.

The result is that party workers are playing the civil rights issue by ear. They, too, must make gestures to the South which plays an important part in the selection of the Presidential nominee. And, with high hopes of carrying several Southern states in November, they are advocating an educational, voluntary approach to the civil rights issue.

There are those in both parties, however, who argue against compromise. They insist that Democratic losses in the South four years ago, resulting from the party's unyielding civil rights position, undoubtedly were more than offset by gains registered in the North among Negro voters and other minority groups.

Important Issue

These efforts to be right on the civil rights issue point up the importance of the Negro vote. Originally a Republican vote, it began

shifting to the Democrats in the early New Deal days and by 1940 had become a Democratic vote. By 1944, the Negroes were voting Democratic, two to one. The Negro vote for President Truman ran about two and one-half to one.

The Republicans did not carry the Negro vote in a single state in 1948. Yet the Republican ticket could not have picked up the electoral votes of Delaware, Indiana or Maryland, for example, if it had not been for the Negro votes it received in those states.

Similarly the Democrats could not have carried California, Florida, Illinois or Ohio without the Negro votes they received in such numbers.

The best available compilation of the Negro vote, taking into account all precincts where 75 per cent or more of the voters are Negro, is interesting in this regard. The Democrats carried California only by 17,865 votes after polling 104,000 Negro votes. The Republican margin of victory in Indiana was 13,246 votes, made possible by the 16,467 Negro votes the ticket received.

Democratic Advantage

The Republicans, seeking to win a larger Negro vote in the November election, are working at it all the harder because they realize that the Democrats will not be impeded by a strong progressive party ticket this year.

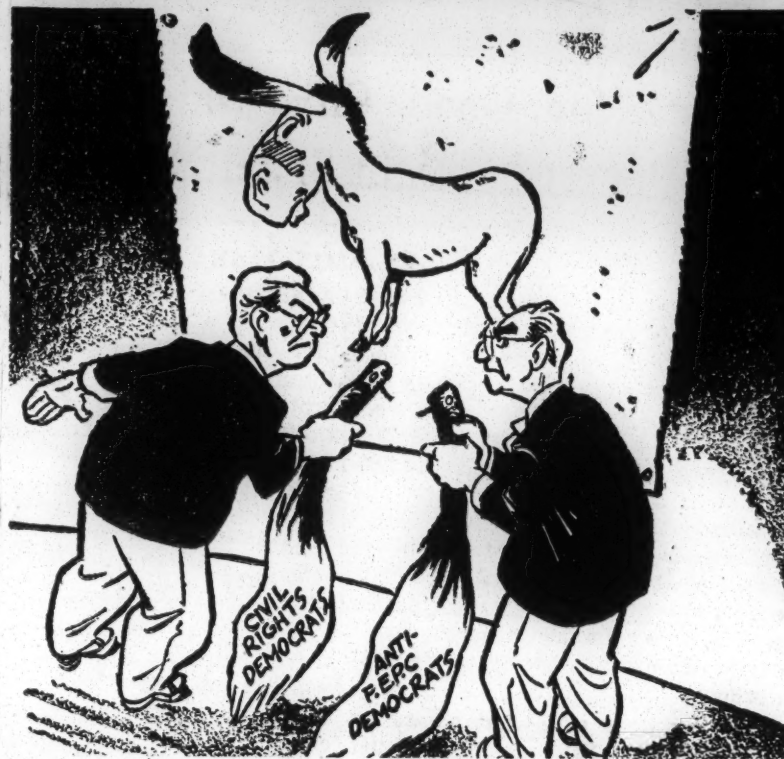
If it had not been for Henry Wallace's third party candidacy, drawing votes as it did from the Democrats, Republicans undoubtedly would have lost New York, Michigan and possibly Maryland. They carried New York, for example, by 60,951 votes, while the Wallace ticket polled 509,559 votes. These three states had a total of seventy-four electoral votes in 1948.

Similarly, the narrow margins by which the Democrats captured the combined fifty-seven electoral votes of California and Ohio would have been respectable, if not large, had it not been for the diversionary Wallace vote, which was 190,381 in California and 37,596 in Ohio.

G. O. P. Hopes

Even with a candidate with appeal at the polls, the Republicans realize the base of the party support must be expanded. They hope to enlist the Negro voter who, with each passing year, becomes a bigger factor in elections in Northern and Western states. California, for example, had a Negro population of 530,604 in 1950, but the esti-

'ALL THE MAKINGS OF A LIVELY PARTY'



Morris, A. P. Newsfeatures

mates are that this figure is increasing by at least 10,000 a year.

The Republicans garnered 189 electoral votes in 1948, seventy-seven below the 266 needed for victory. Not only must they hold the states they won four years ago but they must also take some away from the Democrats.

Adroit appeals to the Negro voters and other minorities may help. The Negro vote is recognized as an important factor in Illinois, Ohio, California, Washington, West Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri—to name only a limited list of the states in the Democratic column in 1948.

Two Southern senators predict civil rights truce

By The Associated Press

Republicans had foreign aid spending as an issue in their presidential campaign today. Democrats wondered anew if civil rights would split their party again.

The top contenders for Republican nomination—Sen. Robert Taft of Ohio and Gen. Dwight Eisenhower—were at sharp odds over the amount needed to finance assistance abroad.

Eisenhower, in a cable from Paris to Sen. Tom Connally of Texas, said a billion-dollar cut already proposed in Congress would hurt. Any deeper slice off

the \$7,900,000,000 asked by President Truman would endanger the nation's security, he said.

Taft promptly replied that even a slash of two billions would not imperil the program or U. S. security. After telling his reporters, Taft said in a Hartford, Conn., speech: "I don't think the American people ought to run the world (or would) be good at it if they tried."

CONNALLY, chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee, had asked Eisenhower's views. He released their message exchange yesterday after Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia, who seeks the Democratic nomination as president, cabled Eisenhower. Russell wanted to know if the general thought \$6,900,000,000 approved by Connally's committee would cover the cost of European defenses.

President Truman told his news conference yesterday he has not budged in support of the civil rights plank adopted four years ago by the Democratic Party. The resultant Southern revolt then cost Truman 39 electoral votes in the 1948 presidential race.

Key Southern lawmakers, in view of Truman's pat stand, disagreed as to whether civil rights differences can be patched up. Sens. Burnet Maybank of South Carolina and Walter George of Georgia said they expected a compromise and a united party by general election time. Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia, however, said he sees little difference between the 1948 and 1952 situations.

Russell, in a Press Club speech, sharply denounced proposals for a compulsory Fair Employment Prac-

posts pledged to him. Democrats choose a 20-vote delegation. Sen. Estes Kefauver's Washington headquarters said the Tennessee has won nearly six times the popular support of his nearest competitor for Democratic nomination. The statement credited Kefauver with a total of 1,809,054 votes in 11 state primaries. Russell was listed next with 332,766.

IN WEST VIRGINIA, which held its primary Tuesday, Eisenhower reportedly was gaining with a total of 1,809,054 votes in 11 state primaries. Russell was listed next with 332,766.

Illinois Democrats, at a Springfield convention yesterday, praised their Gov. Adlai Stevenson as "ideally qualified" for president. They approved such a resolution over Stevenson's protest that he is running only for reelection as governor.

New York Gov. Thomas Dewey told his state's 96-vote Republican delegation not to vote for him at

Commission, core of the dis-
FEPC would ban job discrim-
ination against Negroes and other minorities.

POLITICS OTHERWISE:
In Nevada today, Republicans and Democrats opened two-day conventions to pick the state's 10-vote Democratic and 12-vote Republican delegations. Retired Lt. Gen. Albert Wedemeyer, a Taft leader, was keynote speaker at the GOP meet-

Truman Vows No Compromise In Party Fight for Civil Rights, Other 'Winning Program' Issues

He Predicts The Election Of a 'Liberal'

From Wire Dispatches

WASHINGTON, May 17—President Truman tonight bluntly pledged a "no compromise" election-year fight for his "civil rights" program and risked the possibility of a Southern bolt from the Democratic party.

The chief executive, addressing the convention of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), declared there must be no party retreat from a "winning program" which includes, besides the civil rights stand, the administration's foreign policy, power development and other issues.

Mr. Truman predicted the election of a "liberal" Democrat to the presidency in November because the Republicans will "scare the daylights" out of the voters with their program.

The President, in the text distributed to newsmen in advance, gave no intimation whether he is backing a particular candidate for the party nomination.

But he praised a group of aspirants invited to the dinner. They included Senator Kefauver, of Tennessee; W. Averell Harriman, of New York; Senator McMahon, of Connecticut, and Senator Humphrey, of Minnesota, who keyed the ADA convention earlier in the day.

In a slashing attack on the Republicans, Mr. Truman obviously was referring to General Eisenhower when he declared:

"Isolationism is not dead. Far from it. Even if the Republicans get a presidential candidate with a good record in foreign affairs,

he will not be able to drown out the raucous outcries of the rest of the party.

"To Scare the Voters"

"And that prospect is beginning to scare the voters—as it certainly should."

For himself, Mr. Truman made it plain that he intends to veto the bill passed by Congress yesterday to give the States title to the oil-rich submerged lands off the coasts.

Asserting that the "oil lobby" wants to exploit these areas to suit itself, he added:

"Talk about corruption. Talk about stealing from the people. This would be robbery in broad daylight—and on a colossal scale."

The President leveled another blast at the steel companies, currently engaged in a Supreme Court suit to invalidate government seizure of their plants in their dispute with the unions over wages.

Observing that he wasn't talking about constitutional issues before the court, Mr. Truman said the employees came before the Wage Stabilization Board and "proved that they were entitled to some wage increases."

"And then it was the turn of the steel companies," he said. "They were asked to agree to fair and reasonable wage increases and come in and submit their case for price increases, if they needed any. But would they do that? Not at all."

"Profits Close to Record"

"Their profits, whatever yardstick you use, have been running close to record levels. I think that is the reason why they don't want to submit their case for consideration on its merits. They refuse to abide by the rules of our stabilization program."

"They just come out and say the government has to give them a big price increase, or else."

Mr. Truman said the Republicans had "rushed into the fray at once" for the purpose of preserving high profits for the steel companies and preventing wage increases for the steelworkers.

This was just in line, the President insisted, with the views of the "dinosaur wing" of the Republican party. The aim of this group, he declared, is to turn the country over to big business.

He praised Senator Morse, of Oregon, as one Republican who doesn't go along with this theory.

Mr. Truman pointed up foreign policy as one of the issues he is

likely to discuss if he carries out his announced intention of making a whistle stop tour for the next Democratic nominee.

He said Senator Wiley, of Wisconsin, was sneered at and jeered at by his Republican colleagues in the Senate because Wiley suggested there were some things in present foreign policies of which all Americans could be proud.

Speaking to delegates who already had applauded appeals for four presidential nomination candidates and others to go beyond 30 years and I believe I know the 1948 Democratic platform in something about the business. One

to attack the foreign policy of the social welfare proposals, Mr. Truman said there must be no turning back by the party.

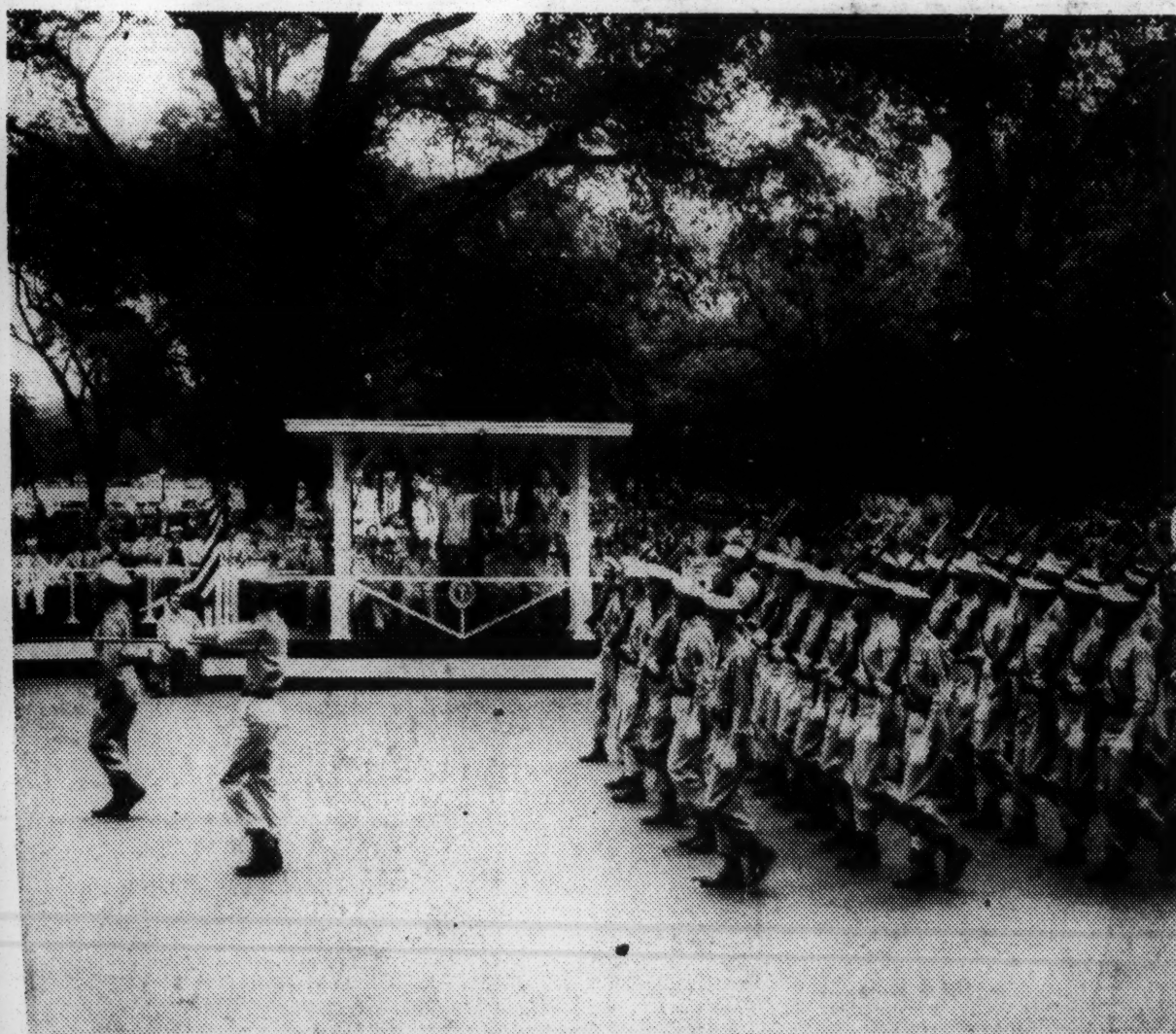
"Nobility ought to be in doubt," the President said. "That was the Republican answer to the gestures to the effect that we latest plea, from one of their own ought to water down our platform and abandon parts of our program," Mr. Truman said.

"These, my friends, are Trojan horses," Mr. Truman said.

Seven Senators Named

Mr. Truman said that among those who did the sneering were Senators Cain, of Washington; Welker, of Idaho; Mundt, of North Dakota; Hickenlooper, of Kansas; Ferguson, of Michigan, and Bridges, of New Hampshire.

Mr. Truman said these Senators gave Wiley "to understand that this was an election year, and it was the duty of every Republican



President Truman (seated, center of stand) Sees Armed Forces Day Parade
Members of Third Infantry From Fort Myer, Va., Passes in Review

—AP Photo

thing I am sure of: Never, never, throw away a winning program."

For one thing, he said, the party must stand firm on civil rights. Thus he reiterated a demand for enactment of such proposals as a fair employment practices commission (FEPC) to crack down on employers who discriminate in hiring or firing because of race or color.

It was this program which sparked the 1948 States rights revolt in the South and promises to become an explosive issue in this year's nominating convention in Chicago in July.

As Francis Biddle, ADA president scheduled for re-election, had done before him, Mr. Truman said he wanted to point out "the terrible dangers that lie in wait for us if we surrender to the clamor of McCarthyism and adopt the practice of guilt by association."

There was a reference to Senator McCarthy (R-Wis.), whose Communist-in-government charges also had been attacked earlier in the meeting by Kefauver, Harriman, McMahon and Humphrey.

Declaring that the "Fair Deal" program will not be weakened or compromised" and that the party will nominate a "liberal," Mr. Truman said he was finding it "a very perplexing problem, indeed," to find a suitable nominee.

This may have been an allusion to his known efforts to enlist Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, in the race. Stevenson has resisted efforts to make him a candidate, but has not said he would reject a draft.

Partisans of Stevenson and Kefauver have demanded a show-down vote in tomorrow's convention session on proposals that the organization endorse their candidates.

Backers of Harriman have urged against any endorsement now and some others have proposed that Humphrey, who has the backing of Minnesota's delegates, be given the convention's "favorite-son" endorsement.

Call For Support On Civil Rights Program

By ARNOLD de MILLE

NEW YORK — The 2,500,000 members of the Presbyterian Church in America were called upon last week to eliminate segregation within their own ranks, support a civil rights program and urge Washington lawmakers to do away with discrimination in the nation's capital.

The appeal was made in a report at the 164th general assembly of the church attended by 350 churchmen from all sections of the country.

The pronouncement, prepared by the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action, also issued a warning against a "blinding fear of subversive forces" which threatens to "tear down the whole structure of freedom and equality in America," and denounced loyalty oaths as "thought-control."

In calling upon the membership to eliminate segregation within its own ranks, the Presbyterian body asked for "a non-segregated church and a non-segregated society." It represents a particularly significant contribution to the structure of human freedom, the pronouncement noted.

The assembly points with pride and "gratitude to the recent formation of interracial churches in San Francisco, Pittsburgh and other places.

"We urge the elimination of segregated synods and presbyteries within our denomination," the pronouncement read.

The body called upon Congress to eliminate segregation within our nation's capital.

"We urge church members to press Congressmen and Senators to support civil rights legislation," the assembly proclaimed.

In regards to human rights and personal freedom, the churchmen said that "every individual as a child of God is of supreme importance and is entitled to live in dignity, freedom and equality among his fellowmen."

"But we humbly confess that our practices fall far short of Christ's commandment of love

and often violates even the minimum freedoms set forth in our Bill of Rights," they added.

One of the highlights of the convention was the presentation of a citation to Marian Anderson for her efforts in furthering better relationship.

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, U. S. alternate delegate to the U. N. 6th General Assembly, was the principal speaker.

Dr. Frank T. Wilson, Dean of Howard university, and Rev. James H. Robinson, pastor of the Church of the Masters, were also speakers at the convention.

TRUMAN DEMANDS CIVIL RIGHTS BASED ON FEDERAL POWER

"These Matters" Can't Be Left "to States Alone," He Says at Howard University

REVIEWS GAINS OF 5 YEARS

President Calls for Complete Enaction of 10-Point Plan He Put Forth in 1948

Text of the Truman address at Howard University, Page 10.

By ANTHONY LEVIERO
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
WASHINGTON, June 13—President Truman today reaffirmed his civil rights program without compromise, asserting the rights of individuals could not be left to state protection alone but required the full power of the Federal Government.

Speaking at the commencement exercises of Howard University, a Negro institution, Mr. Truman thus challenged the position taken by General of the Army Dwight D.

Eisenhower and other candidates for the Republican and Democratic nominations for President.

He laid down a policy line that, if it were sustained at the forthcoming Democratic National Convention, would repudiate the stand of those leaders in his own party who would mollify Southern Democrats. These leaders recommend a softer civil rights plank than the one that led to the Southern revolt and the states' right defection in 1948.

Among those who have suggested a more moderate approach is Gov. Paul A. Dever of Massachusetts, who will deliver the keynote speech at the Democratic Convention, July 21.

Warns of "False Ideas"

The President warned that "we should realize that much of the trouble in the world today is the result of false ideas of racial superiority." He added that "in the past" the conduct of the democratic nations has too often been marred by a racial pride that has left its scars on the relations between East and West."

He derided the "prophets of doom" who said that his program would weaken the country. On the contrary, the President declared, it had made the country stronger.

The President reviewed the gains of the last five years but declared his ten-point program of 1948 should be enacted in its entirety. He likened his program to "the trumpet blast outside the walls of Jericho—the crumbling walls of prejudice."

Several thousand persons, including 691 graduates of the ten schools and colleges of the 85-year-old institution, heard the President's address this evening.

The university also conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on Federal District Court Judge J. Waties Waring, now retired, who became a controversial figure in Charleston, S. C., for his championship of the Negro battle for equal rights.

A citation honored Judge Waring for his decision permitting Negroes to vote in South Carolina's Democratic primary for the first time in August, 1948. President Truman shook his hand.

The university also conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Architecture upon Paul Revere Williams, a Negro orphan who rose to be a noted architect on the

West Coast.

Mr. Truman wore an academic gown of an honorary Doctor of Humanities, a degree conferred upon him by Rollins College in Florida. He was accompanied by Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, and members of his staff in caps and gowns. Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of the university, introduced the President.

President Truman's demand for a compulsory Fair Employment Practices Commission, like the one that was in force during World War II, contrasted with the view stated recently by General Eisenhower in Abilene, Kans. The General said the fair employment problem should be left to the states.

"I am not one of those who feel that we can leave these matters up to the states alone," said Mr. Truman, "or that we can rely solely on the efforts of men of good will. Our Federal Government must live up to the ideals professed in our Declaration of Independence and the duties imposed upon it by our Constitution. The full force and power of the Federal Government must stand behind the protection of rights guaranteed by our Federal Constitution."

Mr. Truman acknowledged that voluntary action was helpful and should be encouraged. But he went on to plead for enactment of his program. He said:

"We still need the legislation I recommended to the Congress in 1948. Only two of the recommendations I made in my civil rights program have been adopted so far. I shall continue, in office and out, to urge the Congress to adopt the remainder."

The two recommendations adopted by Congress were:

1. Legislation granting greater self-rule to Guam, which was taken from Navy jurisdiction and placed under a civilian governor, and to Puerto Rico, which has been allowed to elect a native governor and to draft its own Constitution, which is now pending before Congress for approval.
2. Legislation recognizing and granting claims of Japanese-Americans evacuated from their homes on the West Coast during World War II.

In the Democratic Party, W.

Averell Harriman, Director for Mutual Security, is the only candidate who has endorsed all elements of the President's civil rights program. Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee is opposed to a compulsory F. E. P. C., but would accept it if it was demanded in the party's platform. Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia favors a commission that would exact normal suasion but that would be without punitive power.

On the Republican side, Senator

Robert A. Taft of Ohio has taken a position similar to Senator Russell's. A compulsory F. E. P. C. is one of the other eight points that have been in controversy since Mr. Truman sent his famous civil rights message to Congress in February, 1948, and plunged the Democratic Party into one of its bitterest internal conflicts. The other points were: establishment of a permanent Federal Commission on Civil Rights, a Joint

Another Civil Rights Row?

Must the country again be subjected to another bitter and uncompromising battle over civil rights proposals which in themselves are highly questionable and do not seem to have won any very strong, definite acceptance among the people in any part of the country?

President Truman's call Saturday night, in his address to the Americans for Democratic Action, for enactment of his specific proposals in this field has dampened the hope that had been riding high that a compromise would be achieved by the Democrats.

Democratic National Chairman Frank E. McKinney evidently has been seeking such a compromise, in the hope that the 1948 split in the party will be healed. He supervised the selection of a platform drafting committee which is regarded as, on the whole, disposed toward moderation. Sen. Humphrey, who led the fight for the proposals in 1948, was not named to this group. Among those on it opposed to the Truman proposals are Sen. Sparkman of Alabama, Gov. Kennon of Louisiana, and an Atlanta associate of Sen. Russell. Those regarded as favoring a civil rights plank along the lines of the Truman proposals include Sen. Lehman of New York, Sen. Green of Rhode Island, Rep. Dawson of Illinois, Solicitor General Perlman and others.

Sen. Hill of Alabama expresses himself as still hopeful of a compromise, saying members of the drafting committee are "able, temperate, well-balanced persons who can work out a platform acceptable to the different viewpoints."

But Sen. Lehman says that he will fight for a "strong civil rights plank."

What is a strong civil rights plank? The opponents of the specific Truman proposals in the South are not to be regarded as opposed to civil rights. Rather they insist that these particular proposals will not actually serve the cause of minority rights and racial relations in whose behalf they are offered.

But it is not only in the South, in our opinion, that these plans are widely questioned. In the heat and confusion of the 1948 controversy in this connection, proponents of the Truman recommendations, including the president himself, fell into the presumption of classifying these very dubi-

ous propositions as synonymous with the fundamentals of civil rights themselves.

That is often the way in a highly emotional battle, with widespread political implications and impacts. The specific questions are pretty much lost sight of in the uproar of generalized controversy.

How many Americans actually are convinced that a compulsory FEPC federal program will advance racial relations and minority rights and opportunities? How many are convinced that it would be better for the federal government to intervene in anti-lynching and anti-poll tax efforts rather than to rely on continued progress in both these fields by state action?

Maybe Mr. Truman's militant call is being somewhat misinterpreted. The president has given some indications that he will not try to dominate action at the Democratic convention. If he does—and particularly in this respect—he's going to make a lot more party trouble which could have far-reaching effects.

Soft civil rights plank appears spiked by HST

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, May 19 — (AP) — President Truman appears to have knocked in the head a plan by Democratic National Chairman Frank E. McKinney to compromise the party-splitting battle over civil rights.

Truman's call in a Saturday night speech to the Americans for Democratic action for enactment of proposals he has submitted to Congress already has set off a determined drive to write a vigorous civil rights plank into the Democratic platform at Chicago.

Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, of New York, a member of the pre-convention platform drafting group, told this reporter:

"You can say for me, I shall fight for a strong civil rights plank."

Two Southern senators who oppose Truman's proposals for a Fair Employment Practices Commission, with enforcement powers to prevent racial job discrimination, said McKinney had taken a conciliatory at-

titude on the issue that spawned the states' rights movement in 1948.

Sen. Walter George of Georgia said he doubts now that McKinney's view will prevail.

"I hope the convention will adopt a plank something like that proposed by former Sen. Francis Myers in 1948," George said. "But if it adopts the 1948 plank, the action will be very, very objectionable to the South."

MYERS HAD PROPOSED A plank generally committing the party to advance civil rights, but Sen. Hubert Humphrey forced through the 1948 convention a statement demanding action on Truman's legislative proposals.

This caused a Dixie walkout and was followed by a states' rights campaign that took 39 electoral votes away from Truman in South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama.

Sen. Lister Hill of Alabama, who has fought to keep his state's party organization within the national group, said he believes a compromise still is possible.

"The members of the drafting committee are able, temperate, well-balanced persons who can work out a platform acceptable to the different viewpoints," he declared.

McKinney supervised the naming of a preliminary drafting committee described by other convention officials as down-the-middle on the civil rights issue. Among others, Rep. Brooks Hays of Arkansas, who has taken the lead in trying to compromise civil rights legislation, was named to the group.

The anti-Truman program viewpoint is represented by Sen. John J. Sparkman of Alabama, Gov. Robert K. Kennon of Louisiana, Burket D. Murphy, Atlanta attorney and associate of Sen. Richard B. Russell, and others.

ON THE SIDE favoring a vigorous civil rights plank are Lehman, Sen. Theodore Green of Rhode Island, Rep. William L. Dawson of Illinois, Solicitor General Philip B. Perlman and others.

Humphrey, leader of the 1948 battle, was left off the committee, as were his 1948 associates.

Truman Vows No Compromise On Civil Rights

No Quarter Asked, None Given To South In Speech To ADA

WASHINGTON, May 17 (UP)—President Truman bluntly pledged tonight a "no compromise" election-year fight for his civil rights program, and risked the possibility of a Southern bolt from the Democratic Party.

He took his stand in a political speech before the "liberal" Americans for Democratic Action convention in which he blasted the Republicans as the party of "reaction and fear and selfishness."

Mr. Truman predicted the election of a liberal Democratic presidential candidate who will campaign on his controversial civil rights program and other administration policies. And he said he was equally confident the Republicans, as usual, will defeat themselves in November by their own blunders.

The President made it plain he was asking no quarter and giving none to the South in his all-out drive for acceptance again by the Democratic convention in July of a vigorous civil rights program.

The program includes a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission which would have authority to get court orders to forbid discrimination by employers because of race, creed, or color.

The President made it plain he expects the Democratic national convention in July to write into its platform a compulsory civil rights program similar to that adopted in 1948.

That could precipitate a bolt from the party by the South. Last Thursday, Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, a power in the South, said in a speech that the South must bolt the party this year if the convention fails to give sympathetic consideration to the Southern point of view.



Gets in civil rights fight—
Sen. Brian McMahon.

McMahon joins Humphrey's civil rights plank fight

WASHINGTON, May 17 — (AP) — Sen. Briem McMahon, a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, joined Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey today in demanding the party refuse to compromise with the South on the explosive civil rights issue.

In speeches before the convention of Americans for Democratic Action, McMahon of Connecticut and Humphrey of Minnesota called for a renewed party pledge to put into effect President Truman's program on that matter.

McMahon urged that the Democratic platform this year recommend a change in Senate rules to make it easier to quash filibusters against civil rights legislation.

SEN. ESTES KEFAUVER of Tennessee, also a candidate for top place on the Democratic ticket, made no specific mention of civil rights in his prepared address to the convention.

He said, however, "we must make this country an ever better place to live in for all our people—Negroes and whites, native-born and foreign-born city folks and farm folks, of every race, creed and color."

Kefauver has said he is against creation of a Fair Employment Practices Commission with enforcement authority in hiring and firing discrimination cases, but that as the nominee he would support the platform to be adopted at the party convention in July.

FEPC would outlaw job discrimination against Negroes and other minorities. It is engrained in the civil rights plank which caused a Southern revolt at the 1948 convention and cost President Truman 39 electoral votes.

Truman will address the ADA delegates Saturday night (8:30 p.m., CST).

Humphrey, in advance of his keynote speech to the ADA convention, said he believes it would not be wise for the delegates to endorse any candidate now. ADA describes itself as an independent organization of liberals. Most of its members belong to the Democratic Party.

However, there were obvious moves developing to put the convention on record in favor of a candidate, or to specify those it would be willing to support.

IN HIS ADA SPEECH, Humphrey said there must be "no compromise, no retreat, no double-talk" on civil rights. He added:

"I say in all solemnity that the Democratic Party does not deserve to endure if it equivocates on the issue of civil rights."

Civil Rights Commission Gets \$10,500

NEWARK
The Newark City Commission reversed itself last week and voted a budget of \$10,500 for the Civil Rights Commission.

The agency had originally requested \$17,500. The city fathers offered \$5,000 but civic, inter-cultural and human relations groups demanded that the Civil Rights Commission be given adequate funds to do a more effective job.

Keenan Backs Hike

Group representatives at the budget hearing were surprised when Public Safety Director John B. Keenan, the target of many police brutality cases reported to the civil rights agency, supported the higher appropriation.

J. Bernard Johnson, attorney and vice-chairman of the Commission, told the New Jersey AFRO-AMERICAN that \$7,500 will be earmarked for the employment of a full-time executive director.

McNulty Heads Committee

Toward this end, David M. Lit-

win, chairman of the commission, has appointed a five-man committee to find and recommend a qualified person for the post. The members are:

Msgr. John L. McNulty, president of Seton Hall University; Joel R. Jacobinson, Rabbi Dr. Joachim Prinz, John A. Paolercio and Mr. Johnson.

The consensus among leaders of various organizations that have pressed for a paid full-time executive for the commission is that the majority on the City Commission were happy to back Mayor Villani on the \$10,500 budget as a gesture toward the colored electorate.

Mayor On Spot

The Mayor appointed Mr. Johnson to the Commission, but refused to approve his appointment as Acting Magistrate of the Fourth Precinct Court by Magistrate LeRoy D'Aloia last month.

The Mayor incurred the wrath of colored people by blocking the Johnson appointment through a court injunction.

When he was overwhelmed with protests and insistent demands that he name a colored lawyer to one of two vacancies on the bench, he countered with an offer of three other jobs to colored people—but they are holding out for a judgeship.

Civil Rights, Civil Wrongs

Presbyterians, 2,500,000 strong, pledged themselves at their NYC convention to fight racial segregation in the community and church... Forty unmarried women of Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa are in jail. The charges: they failed to find husbands. Africans say the law is designed to stamp out prostitution... Swimming pools at Youngstown, O., for the first time this summer will be open to all... Dyna-mite of the Walker Vocational College at Jacksonville, Fla., failed to intimidate colored voters. The school was a polling place. The voters cast their ballots overwhelmingly for Kefauver. Russell won 19 delegates to Kefauver's five... A court fight looms over the eviction of Edward Strickland from New York's Knickerbocker Village project. He's the only colored tenant. The NY Supreme Court will hear arguments on a show cause order staying the eviction Tuesday.

Quick Glance At Civil Rights

"I'll bust your damn head open!" That's what Cicero Detective Frank K. Lange told Harvey S. Clark Jr., Clark testified in Federal Court at Chicago last week. Lange, three other policemen and four town officials are on trial for denying Clark his civil rights... The Supreme Court's covenant decision holds good even in Georgia. Superior Judge E. E. Andrews has refused to issue an injunction forbidding real estate dealers to sell homes in otherwise white neighborhoods to colored buyers... The Englewood, N.J., board of education has changed its mind. Dr. Mary McL. Bethune will now be welcomed as a speaker. The Medical Association of Georgia has cracked its iron curtain. Colored doctors will now be accepted for membership on a "scientific" basis. This means they must pay full dues, and can attend clinics and business sessions. But they will be denied admission to dinners, dances and other "social" affairs.

Because it offers proof of the equality of men, the pamphlet, "What Science Says About Race" has been suppressed by American UN delegates. The booklet was prepared by the Department of Mass Communications of UNESCO... The Illinois Central Railroad can no longer segregate passengers in Illinois. The order was handed down by the Illinois Commerce Commission... A new book, "The Trouble Makers," is must reading for all interested in the rights fight. It was published Friday by Doubleday and Co., NYC. It documents the alarming increase in racial violence in America. The study was made by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith. The book has 317 pages... Only a Presidential veto can keep the obnoxious McCarran bill from becoming law. The measure sets up greater racial restrictions on migration to America than ever before.

Women Voters Quiz Maryland Candidates On Civil Rights Bill

By Alex R. Preston
Star Staff Correspondent

BALTIMORE, April 9.—Every thing was going along just fine. Republican and Democratic candidates for the Senate had made nice speeches. There were the usual amenities among those in the audience who attended the luncheon.

Then you could have heard a pin drop. Some one had asked a question—THE question.

"What do you think of the civil rights program?"

The woman who asked it directed her inquiry yesterday to Representative Sasscer, Demo-

crat, one of six candidates from both parties who seek nomination to the Senate.

Points to His Record.

"I hope," Mr. Sasscer told the non-segregated audience of the Baltimore league, "that I will not be the only one on this platform called on to answer that one."

Mrs. William Wing, league president, agreed that the other candidates also would be asked the same question.

"I have constantly supported legislation directed toward the advancement of all our people," Mr. Sasscer said. "In a democracy you have to have progress for all other things, he said, while it people. The record will show that in the last Congress I voted for the co-operative civil rights program as a substitute for the compulsory civil rights bill."

George P. Mahoney, Mr. Sasscer's principle opponent for the Democratic nomination, was not present. He has been in a hospital with a virus infection for more than a week but may be released today. There was no one at his headquarters here who volunteered to express Mr. Mahoney's views on the question.

Mills Also Absent.

Mayor Herman L. Mills of Hagerstown, one of five Republican contenders for the office, also was absent.

All but one of the other candidates appeared to favor Federal civil rights legislation. This is how they responded to the question:

Stephen B. Peddicord, Democrat of Baltimore—"It is purely a

local State matter. New York has no right to tell us how to live. We have no right to tell Virginia how to run her affairs."

Representative Beall, Republican—"I voted four times to repeal the poll tax and I voted four times for an anti-lynch bill. Of course I am for it."

Royden A. Blunt, Baltimore Republican—"What you are really talking about is a FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Commission). I am certainly for FEPC."

Gore Recalls Pledges.

H. Grady Gore, Montgomery County Republican—"I want to build a stronger United States. The only way I know how to do this is to develop opportunities for all of the people. I have pledged throughout this State to support legislation to give equal rights to women and equal rights to colored people."

Thomas Hankinson, Republican of Bradshaw—"I am for civil rights. It will make a stronger Nation."

In response to another question, Mr. Gore declared, "We should get out of Korea the quickest we can and on the best possible basis we can."

In their five-minute main address before the question period, some of the candidates directed their remarks at the opposing political party instead of at an opponent within his own party.

For instance, Mr. Beall defended the Republican Party and extolled the principles of the G. O. P. also.

Mr. Blunt, who followed, started out by saying, "I want to remind you that that's my party too."

Mr. Gore extolled the principles of the G. O. P. also.

Mr. Sasscer commented in the attack on the Democratic Party which, he said, "brought the country out of the despair and gloom of 1931 to a level of its greatest prosperity despite the impact of two wars."

Governor Praised For New Civil Rights Law

NEW YORK—Enactment of a law placing violations of civil rights in places of public accommodations under the jurisdiction of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination was hailed this week as "an important forward step" by Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In a letter to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, who last week signed the measure, Mr. White said: "This is an important step completely in line with the progressive civil rights legislation which you have sponsored during your administration. Largely due to your efforts, New York State is now well in the vanguard as a model state in civil rights legislation."

The new law expands the jurisdiction of SCAD, which has been limited to discrimination in employment. Under terms of the recently passed statute, complaints of discrimination in service in hotels, restaurants and other places of public accommodation may be filed with SCAD, which is empowered to investigate, mediate, negotiate a settlement, hold public hearings, issue cease and desist orders, and if, necessary, to resort to the courts for enforcement of its orders.

Delegates Converge On Capital

WASHINGTON—The assembly of some 900 delegates in an interracial and inter-faith conference on civil rights here on February 17-18 gave added significance to the observance of national Brotherhood Week.

The conference, initiated by the National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People and co-sponsored by 51 other national organizations, brought to Washington delegates from 35 states who voiced a unanimous demand for revision of the Senate rules to make it easier to break filibusters against civil rights measures.

THE DELEGATES—Negro,

white and Japanese-American; Protestant, Catholic and Jewish; native and foreign-born; trade unionists and business and professional men and women—spent two days in Washington attending meetings, visiting their respective Senators and Representatives, and conferring with officials of the national Democratic and Republican committees.

In a declaration unanimously adopted by the conference, the delegates called upon the Senate to revise Senate Rule 22 which stands as the principal roadblock to the enactment of urgently needed civil rights legislation. Until this obstacle is removed, there can be no hope for congressional action against the forces of bigotry."

THE DELEGATES asked also for "the establishment of a federal Fair Employment Practices Commission with enforcement powers: for the abolition of the poll tax as a requirement for voting, and for a federal anti-lynching law. Further, we call upon both major parties to include in their platforms a plank advocating a rule which will make it possible to curb filibusters by the vote of a majority of Senators present."

Warning that they would accept no "cease fire" in the fight for civil rights, the delegates affirmed that they intended to "carry this vital fight into the precincts where the people of America live and vote."

'51 Civil Rights Report Asserts 'Violence' Rose

A.J.C. and N.A.A.C.P. Say Loyalty Probe Excesses Also Limited Progress

No outstanding advances toward intergroup equality and the promotion of civil rights were recorded in the United States during 1951 by the Federal, state or municipal governments, according to a joint annual report by the American Jewish Congress and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, made public yesterday.

The 128-page report, the fourth in an annual series by the two organizations, stated that "violence designed to maintain existing intergroup inequality has increased steadily during the last years, and the Federal, state and local governments have shown either unwillingness or inability to cope with it."

Outlined in the report were a number of factors which have combined to limit progress in the fight for civil rights. These included that fact that the United States was as busy preparing to repel external aggression "that all matters seemingly only of domestic concern were slighted."

Other Points Noted

Other points militating against progress toward civil rights goals were: the excesses of loyalty investigations which have intensified the tendency to identify support for unpopular causes with subversion; the 1950 elections, which reduced the number of officials who favor civil-rights legislation and changes in the personnel of the United States Supreme Court. The Supreme Court, according to the report, "has evaded or rejected many opportunities to give new and deepened vitality to the constitutional requirement of equal protection of the laws."

Dr. David W. Petegorsky, executive director of the A. J. C., and Walter White, executive secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., in a joint foreword, warned that America's "failure to take forthright executive and legislative action to eliminate barriers of discrimination and prejudice which deny full equality to millions of Americans is seriously weakening our moral and political leadership in world

affairs." Dr. Petegorsky and Mr. White wrote. "Too many in positions of power recognize and authority refuse to recognize—or fear the implications of the recognition—that our ability to inspire the friendship of millions throughout the world is inseparably linked to our capacity to demonstrate increasing progress in human relations. That refusal

Helps Enemy Propaganda

"The propaganda of those who would destroy us makes our failures in the field of human rights loom far larger than our achievements, and the slackening of our pace toward the goal of equality is distorted to appear as a retreat or a repudiation of democratic



CIVIL RIGHTS WEEK was observed in Connecticut last week. Gov. John Lodge signs proclamation in presence of Rabbi Morris Silverman (seated), chairman of the State Commission on Civil Rights, and (standing, from left) Leonard Bright, Jewish Labor Committee representative; Rev. Robert A. Moody, Hartford Board of Education member; and William A. Flaharty, state deputy commissioner of education.

Most Democratic Platform Writers Will Attempt To Compromise On Civil Rights

WASHINGTON (AP) — A majority of the Democratic Party platform-writers will try to compromise the civil rights issue despite President Truman's uncompromising declaration, a highly placed Democrat predicted Friday.

According to this leader, the 20-man drafting committee named last week was chosen with an eye to avoiding a rift like that caused by the 1948 civil rights dispute.

Agreement on compromise in the drafting group does not guarantee party harmony, however. The drafting subcommittee and the full platform committee adopted a compromise civil rights plank in 1948.

The convention itself overrode the platform committee and approved a tougher civil rights plank, provoking a walkout of some Southern delegates and formation of the states' rights party.

House Democratic Leader John W. McCormack, who is counted among the compromisers, was chosen to head the drafting committee. A member is Burket Murphy, an Atlanta attorney and friend of Sen. Richard B. Russell D-Ga. It was understood that Russell was invited to nominate a member and that he chose Murphy.

Russell, a Democratic presidential hopeful whose basic strength is in the South, has led Southern senators in their perennial fights to block Mr. Truman's proposals for civil rights legislation.

TRUMAN SETS STAGE FOR POLITICAL FIGHT ON CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE

Comment
President Pledges Election-Year, 'No Compromise' Battle For Program

P. 1-17
'CAN WIN WITHOUT SOUTH'
maintains
Executive Addresses Liberal

Americans For Democratic Action; Kefauver, McMahon, Harriman Vow Support
June 5-18-52
(Text on Page Seven)

By JOHN L. CUTTER
United Press Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, May 17. — President Truman bluntly pledged Saturday night a "no compromise" election-year fight for his civil rights program, and risked the possibility of a Southern bolt from the Democratic Party.

He took his stand in a political speech before the "liberal" Americans for Democratic Action convention in which he blasted Republicans as the party of "reaction and fear and selfishness."

Mr. Truman predicted election of a liberal Democratic presidential candidate who will campaign on his controversial civil rights program and other Administration policies. And he said he was confident the Republicans, as usual, will defeat themselves in November by their own blunders.

1948 Campaign Recalled
His attack on the GOP matched, and sometimes surpassed, his "give-'em-hell" campaign of 1948.

The President made it plain he was asking no quarter and giving none to the South in his drive for acceptance again by the Democratic convention in July of a vigorous civil rights program.

Mr. Truman, not a candidate for re-election, spoke in the presence of three Democratic candidates who shared the speaking table. They announced their support of a civil rights program.

They were Senators Estes Kefauver (Tenn.) and Brien McMahon (Conn.) and Mutual Security Administrator W. Averell Harriman. Not present was Senator Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), who is campaigning for the Democratic nomination, and who is opposed to much of Mr. Truman's civil rights program.

That program includes a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission which would have authority to get court orders to forbid discrimination by employers because of race, creed, or color.

President Makes It Plain
The President made it plain he expects the Democratic national convention in July to write into its platform a compulsory civil rights plank similar to that adopted in 1948.

That could precipitate a bolt from the party by the South. Last Thursday, Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, a power in the South, said in a speech at Cleveland, Miss., that the South must bolt the party this year if the convention fails to give sympathetic consideration to the Southern point of view.

Four states did desert Mr. Truman in 1948, but he won anyway. And in his tough-talking speech to the ADA, the President appeared confident a Democratic "liberal" would win in November, no matter what action the South took.

"We have made good progress on civil rights since 1948, in the Federal Government, in the armed forces, and in the states. But we still need the legislation I recommended to the Congress over four years ago," Mr. Truman said.

He also pledged to battle any efforts to "weaken or compromise" his "Fair Deal" domestic program or to scuttle his foreign policy.

Candidates Beg Support
Kefauver and McMahon along with Harriman, opened the convention with pleas for support in their presidential campaigns.

Kefauver declared, "I believe in giving the same treatment to descendants of those who came to this country on the Mayflower as the descendants of those who came on slave ships."

Said Harriman: "To me it is unthinkable that any plank in the Democratic platform does not move forward — and that includes civil rights."

Can't Give Race Views

Now He Says

Sat. 4-19-52
WASHINGTON — The mysterious Gen. Ike Eisenhower last week virtually admitted to Rep. Adam C. Powell, (D., N.Y.) that he doesn't know his own views on civil rights.

Eisenhower was queried recently by the Congressman, who demanded that the general "tell the nation his views on the segregation of Negro troops" and clarify his position on civil rights.

In a letter in answer to Powell, the Supreme Commander of all Allied forces in Europe declared that to answer the Congressman's questions he

would need the help of "several expert assistants, who are, of course not available here in this military headquarters."

In a press statement last week, Congressman Powell declared that Eisenhower should resign his military command "so the people will stop voting for a candidate who cannot indicate to the people what he believes in."

Commenting on Ike's letter, Powell said, "We are playing 'Blind Man's Buff' with General Eisenhower, only we are the ones who are having the hood over our heads."

Powell has requested Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, chairman of the Senate subcommittee on Labor and Labor Management Relations, to call Eisenhower to testify on FEPC as soon as the general is relieved of his command.

Powell isn't alone in his drive to force Eisenhower to speak up for his beliefs.

Guy L. Smith, Tennessee Republican Party chairman, said Saturday that 100,000 signatures of Tennessee voters are being sought for a giant petition asking General Eisenhower to state his position on current issues.

The petition includes 21 questions, including a request for a statement on compulsory fair employment.

Russell Reiterates Position On Civil Rights But Hits Violence

In response to a telegram Friday to C. A. Scott, Senator Richard B. Russell, junior Georgia Senator reiterated his position against civil rights for Negro and other minority groups, but deplored "all of violence in a number of Southern crimes of violence" whether these be committed by "whites against Negroes or by Negroes against whites."

The Senator's telegram was in answer to Mr. Scott's message of a few days ago, in which he called upon Senator Russell, Senator Hubert M. Humphreys and Attorney General Howard McGrath, urging the Federal Government to take a hand in the brutal murder of Harry T. Moore by bomb in Mims, Florida last week. The full text of Russell's message follows:

"I deplore all crimes of violence whether committed by whites upon Negroes or Negroes upon whites and always regret to hear of them in any state. I hope that the perpetrators of the bomb murder referred to will be apprehended and receive proper punishment. However I strongly believe that the future maintenance of our form of government depends upon the proper recognition of the powers and rights of the states under the constitution. A federal government with all powers centralized in Washington would be a threat to the constitutional rights of every American citizen of whatever race, color or creed. A federal law is not the answer to every problem. There are many instances where federal laws break down and fail of enforcement."

Negroes to Push Civil Rights Bills

The failure of President Truman's civil rights drive in Congress, the reduction of "lynchings" to one and the appreciable upswing of employment of Negroes in higher brackets of industry have been cited as highlights in the field of race relations for 1951 by the National Urban League, the Research Foundation of Tuskegee Institute and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The NAACP, in a year's end statement, said that its more than a quarter million members would renew their determination to

the Negro for enactment of civil rights legislation at the local and State levels as well as nationally.

INSTANCES OF VIOLENCE

Tuskegee Institute, which officially surveys race relations in the South, said that while there were instances of violence in a number of Southern sections, the killing of Melvin Wobbe, a Negro, of Wintergreen, Fla., is the only one which could be classified as a lynching.

Both the National Urban League and the American Friends Service Committee reported gains in the employment of Negroes in jobs of increased importance. Most of these appointments, as emphasized by the Urban League, were the results of conversations begun under either its auspices or the Quakers, as against the application of legal pressures.

HAILED FOR TWO BOOKS

In literature, J. Saunders Redding and Willard Motley were hailed for two books. Redding a teacher at Hampton Institute, in Virginia, wrote "On Being Negro in America." Motley's "We Fished All Night" is the second of the Chicagoan's offerings.

Politically, Negroes received no major appointments in the Federal Government, but in Philadelphia Rev. Marshall L. Shepard was elected Recorder of Deeds, Dr. E. Luther Cunningham was appointed a member of the Civil Service Commission and Raymond Pace Alexander became that group's first councilman under the new City Charter. In Detroit and San Francisco Negroes received local government appointments as prosecuting attorneys and in New York a Negro newspaper reporter, William R. Rowe, was named an assistant police commissioner.

Civil Rights Legislation To Be Pushed

By Murrey Marder
Post Reporter

Florida's series of bombings will help spark the revival of the sidetracked civil rights program when Congress reconvenes Tuesday.

Rep. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) said yesterday he would introduce new civil rights legislation when the session opens and said President Truman

"will probably . . . call attention to the Florida outrages" in his message to Congress.

The Florida bombings have claimed the lives of Harry T. Moore, Negro leader, and his wife. A series of vandalistic acts in the State have been aimed at Negro, Jewish and Catholic centers.

Rep. Louis B. Heller (D-N.Y.) had previously announced he would introduce legislation to provide "the most severe penalties for acts of vandalism perpetrated against racial or religious groups."

No basic civil rights legislation was enacted in the last session. Civil rights proponents in the Senate have now concentrated on a drive to change the cloture rule and end unlimited debate on their bills.

Javits said that on Tuesday he will present an "omnibus" rights measure. It covers most of the issues in dozens of bills, including a fair employment practices commission with enforcement powers, antilynching and antipoll tax sections, and bans on discrimination in Federally aided housing or education.

Javits called on FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to recommend legislation "to give the FBI the necessary powers to make arrests and support prosecutions" in such instances as the Florida acts of terrorism and the earlier housing riots in Cicero, Ill.

The FBI has had investigators in Florida for several weeks, working with State and local authorities to determine the source of the vandalism and bombings.

Javits said he understands the FBI role in Florida is "now largely that of supplying evidence to the State authorities, while the people of the country are entitled in such a situation, I believe, to consider the offenses as to crimes against the United States."

Last January the Justice Department sent to the Senate drafts of three bills to carry out major portions of the President's civil rights program.

The bills would make lynching a Federal crime, tighten laws against peonage and slavery, and set up strong Federal procedure for checking on violations of civil rights.

Judiciary Committee Chairman Pat McCarran (D-Nev.) reported to the Justice Department at that time that the bills were referred to a subcommittee

headed by James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) Eastland is one of the most vigorous opponents of civil rights legislation.

CIVIL RIGHTS BATTLE TO REVIVE THIS WEEK

Sweeping Bill, Aimed To Force Showdown, To Be Given To Congress Tomorrow

By International News Service

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6.—Representative Javits (R., N. Y.) said Sunday recent race disturbances in Florida have convinced him Congress must reach a showdown this year on the explosive civil rights issue.

Javits announced he would introduce a sweeping civil rights bill when Congress returns Tuesday, including proposals to ban poll taxes and prohibit discrimination in employment.

Would Curb Filibusters

Meanwhile, senatorial supporters of civil rights legislation were reported planning to avoid an election-year showdown on the controversial issue.

A survey of senators active in the civil rights fight indicated their attack will be concentrated at the new session of Congress on the preliminary hurdle of amending the Senate's filibuster rule.

The New Yorker said he has asked FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to recommend new laws giving Hoover's agents power to take an active part in race cases.

The decision to call off a Senate floor fight on civil rights reportedly stems from the belief of Senator Humphrey (D., Minn.) that it will not be possible to line up sufficient votes to put the measure across this year.

South Ready to Fight Move

Humphrey is chairman of a Labor Subcommittee which will investigate discrimination in employment as one aspect of the Nation's manpower problem.

He and other civil rights leaders in the Senate reportedly consider the filibuster issue the best test at present on the chances of putting across a civil rights program.

Southern senators have indicated they will stage a full-scale filibuster if any attempt is made to change the cloture rule, providing for unlimited debate.

Javits' House bill would set up a Fair Employment Practices Commission to prohibit discrimination in employment on grounds of race, creed, color or national origin.

It would also eliminate the poll tax as a condition for voting in

Federal elections, make lynching a Federal crime and cut off Federal funds to colleges which practice segregation.

Patterson, CRC Head Goes On Trial Monday March 10

WASHINGTON, D. C.—William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, who recently presented a petition to the United Nations in Paris charging U. S. Government with "genocidal killings and persecutions of Negro Americans," will go on trial here on Monday, March 10th, the CRC has announced.

Patterson, who recently returned from a successful series of mass meetings in the South, is facing a possible jail sentence of two years. He is charged with alleged refusal to turn over to the House Lobbying Committee lists of CRC contributors and other records. During his appearance before the committee in August, 1950, Patterson was called a "god-damn black s.o.b." by Congressman Henderson Lanham of Georgia.

LYNCH GOVERNMENT

The racist insult to 15,000,000 Negro Americans followed Patterson's charge that Georgia had a "lynch government." Lanham also attempted to assault the veteran Negro civil rights leader. No action against the Georgia Congressman was ever taken by the U. S. House of Representatives.

In April, 1951, a Negro-white jury here refused to bring in a guilty verdict against Patterson causing Judge Alexander Holtzoff to declare a mistrial. At that time Holtzoff recommended that the Justice Department drop the indictment and not seek to bring Patterson to trial again.

Yet despite the federal judge's recommendation and the pleas of the seventeen Negro Bishops of the influential AME Church, the Baptist Ministers Conference of Philadelphia and trade union and Negro people's leaders across the country, the Justice Department has ordered a new trial.

"The Civil Rights Congress has charged that Patterson is being brought to trial again 'because of the historic world offense he helped launch against American government's official genocidal policies against the Negro people.'"

Truman's Message To Congress

President Truman's State of the Union message to the Congress Wednesday, left much to be desired in terms of forthright espousal of several important issues on which the people had a right to expect their Chief Executive to speak with vigor and determination. *Daily Worker*

Properly, the President noted some real advances in the past year, in which the United States threw back "aggression," "added greatly to our military" strength and improved the chances for "peace and freedom" in many parts of the world. And he listed on the credit-side aid to allies in Indo-China and Malaya, treaties with Japan, and defense arrangements with Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines. For that we must add our voice of genuine approval and commendation.

But on the burning issue of Civil Rights, about which neither the Democrats nor Republicans have done anything, the President's statement, like his recent anti-discrimination order in defense contracts, was weak and conciliatory. Here in the midst of the worst era of terror and bombings, from Illinois to Florida, the President's speech contained no reference to the bombing of a Negro housing project in Miami, Florida nor any reference to the attempted bombing of Jewish synagogues and Catholic churches; no reference to the July riot in Cicero, Illinois and nothing concerning to Coroner's Jury verdict absolving Sheriff McCall from blame in the shooting of Walter Lee Irvin and the slaying of his mate while in his custody. *Atlanta, Ga.*

Already, these issues are reverberating around the world and in all foreign lands. Only Saturday, Congressman Adams Clayton Powell, who has just returned from a visit abroad reports Dr. Channing Tobias as saying that the death of Harry Moore and his wife in Florida has completely erased all the good results of the Marshall Plan. *P.L.*

But there are other more compelling reasons why Negro Americans expect forthright action from our government against this age of terror and bombing. North and South, they are the victims of discrimination and the objects of exclusion. It is no uncommon thing to observe whole sections organizing to keep Negro tenants from entering Housing Projects. Life for the Negro in the Armed Forces is still a trying thing and all down the line we need improvements in the civil aspects of Negro life.

Russell Reiterates Position On Civil Rights But Hits Violence

In response to a telegram Friday to C. A. Scott, Senator Richard B. Russell, junior Georgia Senator, reiterated his position against civil rights for Negro and other minority groups, but deplored "all crimes of violence" whether these be committed by "whites against Negroes or by Negroes against whites." *p. 5*

The Senator's telegram was in answer to Mr. Scott's message of a few days ago, in which he called upon Senator Russell, Senator Hubert M. Humphreys and Attorney General Howard McGrath, urging the Federal Government to take a hand in the brutal murder of Harry T. Moore by bomb in Mims, Florida last week. The full text of

Russell's message follows:

"I deplore all crimes of violence whether committed by whites upon Negroes or Negroes upon whites and always regret to hear of them in any state. I hope that the perpetrators of the bomb murder referred to will be apprehended and receive proper punishment. However I strongly believe that the future maintenance of our form of government depends upon the proper recognition of the powers and rights of the states under the constitution. A federal government with all powers centralized in Washington would be a threat to the constitutional rights of every American citizen of whatever race, color or creed. A federal law is not the answer to every

problem. There are many instances where federal laws break down and fail of enforcement."

Atlanta NAACP Asks Judiciary Body To Act On Civil Rights

A strong resolution urging members of the Senate Judiciary Committee to "make immediate steps to bring to the floor of the United States Senate all civil rights legislation," was adopted Tuesday night by the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The executive committee which drafted the resolution was authorized to send it to each member of the Senate Judiciary committee which emphasizes that *Atlanta, Ga.*

"These civil rights measures are necessary implements for our nation to plow into the terror that has recently befallen citizens of our country." *P. 1.*

The resolution advised that the committee use its full resources to urge every individual and organization to forward telegrams and letters to each member of the Senate Judiciary committee urging them to see that all civil rights legislation is brought to the floor of the Senate for a vote.

For the convenience of sending these messages the name of each committeeman is printed herewith: PAT McCARRAN, Chairman

Nevada
HARLEY M. KILGORE
West Virginia
JAMES O. EASTLAND
Mississippi

WARREN G. MAGNUSON
Washington
HERBERT R. O'CONOR
Maryland

ESTES KEFAUVER
Tennessee

WILLIS SMITH
North Carolina

ALEXANDER WILEY
Wisconsin

WILLIAM LANGER
North Dakota

HOMER FERGUSON
Michigan

WILLIAM E. JENNER
Indiana

ARTHUR V. WATKINS
Utah

ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON
New Jersey

Address all correspondence to "Senator—(name), United States Senate, Washington, D. C."

The NAACP resolution pointed out that if something concrete is not done to check these terrorist attacks upon Negroes throughout south the lack of present local law enforcement and investigation

would be an encouragement for bigotry, race hatred, and murder bombings to spread throughout this section, threatening the lives of any one who dared to attack these evils.

The committee ended its plea with "let everybody send messages to these Senators NOW."

Civil rights opposed only by supremacists, Commies, says CIOer

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18—(AP)—President Truman's civil rights proposals are opposed only by white supremacists and Communists, Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey of the CIO said today.

Carey addressed a two-day leadership conference on civil rights which opened yesterday under sponsorship of the CIO, AFL and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Delegates from half a hundred national organizations are attending.

Carey, who served on the president's 15-member committee on civil rights, said its report was "received with acclaim by everyone in 1947 except two minority groups."

"ON THE ONE HAND?" he said, "were the white supremacists and friends of slavery who belong to the extreme right. On the other hand were the Communists who favor their own type of slavery."

The labor leader said all groups at the meeting oppose racial segregation and economic and political inequality. He said delegates were assembled to "voice those deci-

sions" in conference with members of Congress.

A prime objective of the meeting is to win support for proposed revision of Senate rules to keep filibusters from stalling or killing civil rights legislation.

CAREY ALSO SAID nominating conventions of both political parties this year must "be as responsible to the needs of the American people as we are."

Yesterday, NAACP President Walter Whitten told the rally:

"The record of no candidate for the presidency is entirely satisfactory on the civil rights issue."

Russell May Agree To a Compromise On Civil Rights

DREW PEARSON Says:

WASHINGTON—Senator Dick Russell of Georgia, who has been more effective than any other Southern senator in blocking the Truman Civil Rights program, now gives indications that he has changed his mind—at least in part. *P.L.*

Now that Russell is a Presidential candidate, friends say that he might be willing to compromise somewhat—though he would never accept a compulsory F.E.P.C. *Journalist*

Tip-off on this possibility—and it's only in the preliminary stages—came when Senator McFarland of Arizona, the conscientious Democratic leader, began sounding out minority groups about a compromise. If such a compromise can be worked out satisfactory both to Negro leaders and moderate Southerners, McFarland will bring it up in the Senate—with Russell's blessing.

Is The Supreme Court Playing Politics With Our Civil Rights?

Liberal Decisions Thing Of The Past

Truman Appointees Led Retreat From Democracy, Study Reveals

By LOUIS LAUTIER
(For NNPA)

WASHINGTON

Either the United States Supreme Court is keenly aware that this is a Presidential election year or, under the leadership of Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson, it is retreating from the high ground it has taken in recent years or it is both politically alert and in retreat on the civil rights front.

Significantly, the court under President Truman has undergone a great change. It is no longer the court that President Roosevelt got through resignations after his unsuccessful fight to pack the high bench.

Truman's Appointees

When President Truman took the oath of office on August 13, 1945, the late Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone swore him in. Since then, the Chief Justice Stone retired and was replaced by Chief Justice Vinson. Other Truman appointees include four colored petitioners. No

Justices Harold H. Burton, former Ohio Republican Senator, to succeed Owen J. Roberts, retired; Tom C. Clark of Texas, former U.S. Attorney General, to succeed the late Frank Murphy, and Sherman H. Minton of Indiana, former U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals judge, to succeed the late Wiley B. Rutledge of Iowa.

Undoubtedly the Truman appointments have lowered the caliber of the court. Vinson, Burton, Clark and Minton are all regarded as mediocres. Nor is any of them inclined to give as liberal an interpretation to the 14th

Amendment as were the justices whom they succeeded.

How Court Has Degenerated

An analysis of actions taken by members of the U.S. Supreme Court in cases affecting civil rights, in the current and past terms, reflecting a swing back to the right, shows:

Miami, Fla., golf-course segregation case. The court refused to review the judgment of the Florida Supreme Court, upholding rule that colored golfers may use course only one day a week.

Justices Black and Douglas dissented. Chief Justice Vinson and Justices Reed, Frankfurter, Jackson, Burton, Clark and Minton voted against review.

March 3, 1952. Court ordered Federal District Court at Knoxville to dismiss a suit attacking the constitutionality of the Tennessee law requiring segregated education on the ground that the case was moot because the University of Tennessee agreed to admit four colored petitioners. No dissent.

Clarendon, S.C., Case

Jan. 28, 1952. The court refused to review the judgment of the Clarendon County, S.C., school segregation case, which attacked State law requiring separate schools, to give the District Court any opportunity to act on a report it had ordered filed showing steps taken by the State since June 21, 1951, to equalize schools.

Justices Black and Douglas dissented, stating "We believe that the additional facts contained in the report to the District Court are wholly irrelevant to the constitutional question presented by the appeal to this court and that

we should note jurisdiction and set the case down for argument."

Dec. 11, 1951. Court continued on its docket a petition for a writ of mandamus calling for a judge to hear and determine a suit attacking the constitutionality of segregated schools in the District of Columbia until the D.C. Court of Appeals passes upon an appeal from the District Court which dismissed the complaint. Justice Douglas dissented.

Court Gets A 'Breather'

Between Oct., 1950, and June, 1951, there were no segregation cases in which written opinions were rendered. On other civil rights matters, there were two favorable and two unfavorable decisions. Criminal attack convictions growing out of the Grove-



Chief Justice
Fred Vinson



JUSTICE
CLARK



JUSTICE
BURTON



JUSTICE
MINTON

Liberal members of the High Court are these men who expressed the minority opinion that the S.C. school segregation case should be argued before that tribunal.

land, Fla., riots were upset because of exclusion of colored persons from the jury.

June 5, 1950, Chief Justice Vinson delivered the unanimous opinion of the court that resulted in opening the University of Texas Law School in the Heman M.

Sweatt case, holding that a separate class railroad tickets must be furnished accommodations equal to the white law school. in comfort and convenience to those provided white passengers.

The same day, the court put G. W. McLaurin in the class with other students at the University of Oklahoma and tore down the jim-crow curtains in railroad dining cars, both in unanimous opinions. The former was written by Chief Justice Vinson, the latter, by Justice Burton.

Killed Racial Covenants

May 3, 1948, Chief Justice Vinson wrote two unanimous opinions of the court, killing racially restrictive covenants, guaranteeing the right of any person to live anywhere he can obtain a home. The opinions were in cases arising in St. Louis, Detroit and the District of Columbia.

Feb. 16, 1948. The court denied a petition for a writ of mandamus to compel Oklahoma courts to comply with the mandate of the Supreme Court by ordering Ada Louis Sipuel Fisher admitted to the University of Oklahoma. The late Justice Murphy favored a hearing should be held to determine if Oklahoma courts were evading the high court's order. Justice Rutledge dissented, holding that "a separate law school established overnight" was equal to Oklahoma University.

Bus Jim Crow Outlawed

June 3, 1946. Justice Reed wrote the opinion in the Irene Morgan case, outlawing segregation of interstate bus passengers. Justices Rutledge, Black and Frankfurter concurring, Frankfurter and Black writing separate opinions, while Justice Burton dissented. Justice Jackson took no part.

June 18, 1944. The late Chief Justice Stone wrote the opinion barring railroad labor unions from acting as bargaining agents for employees against whom they practiced racial discrimination.

April 3, 1944, Justice Reed delivered the court's opinion in the Lonnie E. Smith case, opening the so-called white primaries of Texas to colored voters. Justice Owen J. Roberts, now retired, dissented.

Mitchell Case Decided

April 28, 1941. The late Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes wrote the court's opinion in the Arthur W. Mitchell case, holding that colored persons who purchase first-

Flunks First Test

In the first case challenging the constitutionality of a State law requiring segregation in public education, decided this term, Chief Justice Vinson stopped Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, from proceeding with the argument, telling him the case was moot inasmuch as attorneys had stated that colored applicants would be enrolled.

In the Clarendon County, S.C., case, the Supreme Court again dodged the issue. But more amazing than these decisions was its action in the Miami golf case, which had been before it previously and had been remanded to the Florida Supreme Court for action in the light of the Sweatt and McLaurin cases.

Approves Segregation

The Florida Supreme Court, without permitting oral argument or the filing of additional briefs, reaffirmed its previous decision that a rule of the City of Miami restricting colored golfers to use of the municipally-owned and operated golf course on Mondays of each week.

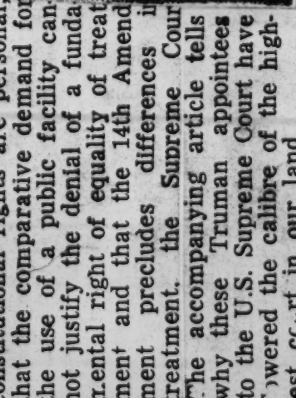
When the case came back to the U.S. Supreme Court a second time, the petition for review was dismissed on the ground that it was within the police powers of the State to restrict colored golfers in the use of the only municipally-owned and operated golf course in Miami.

Dewey Signs Broader Civil Rights Law

ALBANY, N. Y.—Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, last week signed a bill which empowered the State Commission Against Discrimination to cover racial and religious discrimination in hotels, restaurants and other places of public accommodation including resorts and amusements.



JUSTICE
DOUGLAS



JUSTICE
BLACK

could have reached its conclusion.

7-POINT CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM PROPOSED

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Congressman Jacob K. Javits (R-L, N. Y.) announced Monday that he would introduce in this session of Congress an omnibus bill dealing with segregation and discrimination on grounds of race, creed or color in all its forms.

The necessity of such legislation is evident, he said, due to the recent bombings of Negro homes and Jewish synagogues in Florida and the killing of Harry T. Moore and his wife, as well as the anti-Catholic demonstrations in that state.

Javits' proposed seven point bill proposes:

(1) Fair employment practices to prohibit discrimination in employment opportunities on grounds of race, creed, color or national origin with a Commission to administer it and with adequate enforcement powers.

(2) Elimination of the poll tax as a condition for voting for federal offices.

(3) Anti-lynching laws.

(4) Prohibition of discrimination among tenants or prospective tenants on grounds of race, creed or color in any housing which is erected with the assistance of any federal agency or corporation.

(5) Any institution of higher learning which discriminates against or segregates prospective students on grounds of race, creed or color will be deprived of any federal support.

(6) Elimination of segregation in the armed forces.

(7) Commission to study and report on the observance of civil rights throughout the United States.

Stating that two provisions of this omnibus bill need to be further emphasized, the New York congressman declared.

Ike Turns Down Civil Rights Quiz

WASHINGTON, April 10—(INS). Representative Powell (Dem., N. Y.) Thursday night made public a message from General Eisenhower in which the Allied commander said he did not have time to answer six questions on civil rights.

Eisenhower advised the congressman:

"The nature of my duties is such as to require my full time and energy and I simply can not find the time to make the detailed studies and analysis required to

answer the question. Submit. Such a task could only be accomplished with the help of several expert assistants. Who are, of course, not available here in this military headquarters."

Civil Rights Plank Urged By Russell

NEW YORK, April 13 (P)—Sen. Russell (D-Ga.) said today his party should have a civil rights plank in its platform that would please all Democrats. And he saw no reason why it couldn't be done.

Russell, appearing on a television show (CBS' "Man of the Week") said he thought the 1944 platform of the Democratic party had a suitable compromise on civil rights.

"I am not insisting the exact language of that platform be accepted," he said, adding.

"It was a strong declaration in favor of all human and civil rights for which the Democrats have always stood and it said the party is pledged to pursue the protection and enablement of those rights by every constitutional means."

Russell, a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, said he thought any civil rights plank should be "pleasing to the extreme—we shall call them the left wing—of the Democratic party," and at the same time "altogether pleasing to the South."

Gov. Stevenson Asked To Order Equal Rights Week

CHICAGO — Governor Adlai Stevenson was urged to proclaim an "Equal Rights Week" for Illinois in order to combat race discrimination and to emphasize the democratic aspirations of the American people.

The recommendation was made by Russell R. Lasley, Vice-President of the United Packinghouse Workers of America (CIO) and head of the union's Anti-Discrimination Department.

"So that the race riots of Cicero and the bombings in Cairo do not become more symbolic of Illinois than the traditions of Abraham Lincoln and Governor John Peter Altgeld," Lasley said, "we strongly urge that you proclaim an 'Equal Rights Week' for this state, during which time the majority of its citizens and religious, civic, labor and industrial organizations may join in observances and practices to strengthen those democratic aspirations which today are the only sure way to freedom and peace."

The union also asked the Governor to start a scientific survey of the "actual conditions, nature and causes of racial discrimination in the state. This survey, the union added, should make concrete recommendations for the elimination of discrimination."

The UPWA is now nearing completion of a nation-wide survey conducted by Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., of racial practices within its own organization. John Hope II, specialist in industrial and race relations, is director of the survey, which aims to point the way for the complete elimination of racial bias inside the union in the plants where the union members work and in the communities where they live.

A Civil Rights Compromise?

The Democratic Party platform to be adopted at the July convention will have something to say about civil rights. What it will be is likely to make a great deal of difference as to the extent of support for the party's national ticket in many Southern states.

In 1948, pushed by Sen. Humphrey of Minnesota, the convention adopted a plank with very specific objectives which many Southerners opposed intensely. It commended President Truman "for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights" and asked Congress to "support our president in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental American principles." Major objections in the South applied to a proposed compulsory FEPC and federal anti-lynching and anti-poll tax action.

In 1944 the civil rights plank read as follows:

"We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights."

* * *

Yesterday Sen. Sparkman of Alabama appealed for a "party harmony" plank in 1952 along the lines of the 1944 statement. A compromise could promote Southern and party unity and at the same time assure racial minorities that their rights and interests are of concern.

Most of the South is now clear of the poll tax. State action has been responsible. It is also true that no decent Southerner condones lynching any more than decent

Northerners condone gangster killings. The success of local and state law-enforcing agencies in combating lynching is evident in the reduction to almost zero of such crimes in this region.

The opposition to a compulsory FEPC is strong and will remain so. The average Southerner is convinced that such a plan would be unworkable and would increase racial tensions.

The plank of 1944, or one similar to it, would be regarded by many Southerners as having reality and significance. They want the Negro to live well, to develop his capacities to the greatest extent possible, and to share the constitutional rights guaranteed to all. They will work willingly to that end.



Standing outside of the Municipal Court, Criminal Division, are Seaman James A. Whitehead, his brother, John C. Whitehead, 8, and his wife, Mrs.

Rosetta Whitehead. A District grand jury — in an action thought to be without precedent in D.C.—is investigating charges by Whitehead that his

civils rights were violated, May 6, 1951 when he was arrested by Policeman Claude B. Siler, white. The sailor said he was brutally assaulted.

N. Y. Implements Civil Rights

IN THE same week in which New York State, pioneer in civil rights, celebrated the seventh anniversary of its State Commission Against Discrimination, the Legislature extended the jurisdiction of the commission to cover civil rights violations in such public places as hotels, restaurants, stores, hospitals and theatres.

This new law, added to other legislation protecting the civil rights of its citizens, practically makes it impossible for any violations of civil rights in the Empire State to go unpunished if there is sufficient evidence warranting prosecution.

The first of New York's civil rights laws was passed in 1885, and there are penalties as high as \$500 for violations.

However, suits have often been long and expensive with the result that the law has not been frequently invoked. But when

it has, and there has been sufficient evidence, the result has been victory.

Under the new law, the State Commission Against Discrimination is empowered to move in immediately upon receiving a complaint of discrimination by a public place against a citizen because of race, color, religion or previous nationality, thus saving the time and money of the aggrieved.

Of course, those who want to take recourse to the courts under the old laws can do so. *Pittsburgh, Pa. Dat. 3-23-52*

Educational institutions are not covered by the new law because in 1949 the New York Legislature passed the Fair Educational Practices Act which was an immediate success.

Thus, New York again shows the way to the other states, and it is to be hoped

that those interested in the passage of similar legislation in other states will get busy working within their states to get it passed.

It is extremely unlikely that a Federal fair employment practices act will ever be

passed by the United States Congress for reasons which are obvious to those familiar with the structure of our Government; but there is good reason to believe that many more state FEPC laws, similar to that in New York, can be adopted if campaigns to that end are well organized by the citizens of states not now having them.

There are already such laws in eleven states with aggregate population of over fifty millions and similar ordinances in a score of cities; so one-third of the American people are already under FEPC laws.

What is needed at present is not only the passage of such laws in more states but strengthening of present laws in most of those states.

It is significant that FEPC laws have almost passed in an even larger number of states, and would have been enacted if proponents had been better organized.

Over a third of the states have civil rights laws but too often they are too weak to be effective and should be strengthened.

This is a big enough job to consume the energies of those favoring civil rights legislation on the state level for some time to come.

It is all very well to be concerned about and to rally in behalf of victims of spectacular injustices and atrocities far away but it is most important to get laws on the books in home states strengthening civil rights and fair employment practices.

The area not covered by such legislation is narrowing, and if those who are interested will redouble their efforts within the next two years at least two-thirds of the population will be covered by such laws and the remaining territory will find it more difficult to resist the national trend.

Let this endeavor be our No. 1 target in the immediate future.

New York has led the way in demonstrating what can be done within the states.

4. J. C. Names Weisman Civil Rights Group Head



Herman L. Weisman

Herman L. Weisman, attorney and Jewish communal leader, has been appointed chairman of the commission on law and social action of the American Jewish Congress, it was announced yesterday. Mr. Weisman succeeds Shad Polier, who was recently elected chairman of the congress' national executive committee.

The commission which Mr. Weisman heads was established in 1945 to defend civil rights and liberties and to protect religious freedom for all groups. It has appeared before various legislative bodies to urge the drafting of civil rights legislation and has participated in court cases on the subject.

Mr. Weisman, a graduate of Harvard Law School, is a member of the firm of Amen, Gans, Weisman and Butler. He has participated in several racket investigations and has been chairman of the board of both the Palestine Foundation Fund and the United Palestine Appeal.

Ducking Civil Rights

Just what the course of events will bring forth by June when the Republicans and Democrats flock to Chicago for their National Conventions we cannot say, but at this stage of the game, it is clear that the issues of foreign policy, corruption in government and the budget are being blown up, completely oblivious of the incidental question of civil rights.

At least one of the aspiring presidential candidates has openly declared that civil rights will not be an issue or considered in the current campaign. Others have implied the same by omitting it as a topic for discussion in their speeches.

But as Carl Johnson, head of the Kansas City NAACP put it last Sunday, the Negro people cannot afford to allow these things to blot out of the picture the important thing for them—civil rights. Johnson urged that we focus our attention for this year on civil rights as he addressed the regional NAACP meeting at Kansas City, Missouri.

What Mr. Johnson has said is that civil rights are more important than some of the other issues which are being ballyhooed. Much of the success of our foreign policy will depend largely on the attitude held by people of other countries and those attitudes and opinions will be based upon the human rights and dignity denied to Negroes in this country.

The real issue for this 1952 campaign is how soon this nation will get to work earnestly to combat race prejudice, practice of which is placing this country in a ticklish position on the international scene. Naturally, we are all interested in the budget, though most of us don't know what it calls for, and it is certain that we are concerned about graft and other dishonest acts in government, but neither of these problems is as urgent as the need for the United States to set its own house in order regarding compliance with its supreme law of the land as it speaks on citizenship rights.

When they gather at Chicago and lay the planks for their platforms, both parties should include civil rights as the major

plank. The Democrats might well re-lay the 1948 plank which is practically new.

Negro citizens must make their presence felt by continually pushing for greater consideration of equality by legislation and all other means in order that this, the big issue might not be snowed under.

McComb Preacher Makes Statement On Civil Rights Case

McComb, Miss. — April 1 (DSN) — Rev. S. J. Dickey, McComb Negro Baptist Minister, whose testimony on behalf of a former Pike County Sheriff and other Pike County law enforcement officers, on trial in the Federal District Court in Jackson charged with chaining a Negro, now a soldier in Korea, to a tree and beating him to force a confession of robbery, is said to have been an important factor in leading both white and Negro citizens here.

Last week the Rev. Dickey issued a statement in defense of his participation in the case.

The statement is as follows: "I have been severely criticized for appearing in the Federal Court at Jackson, Miss., in connection with the recent trial of Sheriff Robert Lee and other law enforcement officers of Pike County, Miss., on an indictment charging them with violation of the civil rights of Murray Gray.

It has been said that I voluntarily appeared as a witness in this case without having been summoned. This is untrue. I had no desire to become involved in this case. I was served with a subpoena by a United States District Marshall which commanded me to appear and I would have subjected myself to a fine and possible imprisonment if I had failed to obey the summons. When I was placed upon the witness stand I was, of course, under oath to state the truth as I knew it. The principal question which was asked me upon the stand was whether or not I knew the general reputation of Sheriff Lee and the other officers for peace and violence in the community in which they reside. The case involving Gray and one other case which involved only one of the officers on trial are the only cases so far as I know which the officers on trial have ever been accused of mistreatment of any colored prisoner, and therefore when I

was asked the foregoing question I could not do other than state that as far as I knew that the general reputation of the officers for peace and violence was good, I was not asked any questions as to the guilt or innocence of the officers in the case involving Gray and as I had no personal knowledge of their guilt or innocence, I could not under my oath have made any statement in reference thereto if I had been asked. My record will show that I have always gone down the line for the protection of the rights of my race. In view of these circumstances, I do not think that any criticism of me for appearing as a witness in the case is warranted." Rev. S. J. Dickey.

Civil Rights Foe Loses In Georgia

TRENTON, GA. — Sheriff J. W. Lynch lost his bid for renomination as sheriff of Dade County. He campaigned from his federal prison cell in Tallahassee, Florida.

Lynch, with 472 votes, ran third in a four-man field.

Complete but unofficial returns from the Saturday Democratic primary gave former Sheriff G. C. Tatum 965 votes and F. C. Graham 853, putting them in a runoff May 14. The fourth candidate, L. R. Christian, for 153 votes.

Lynch was convicted of violating the civil rights of seven Negro persons in connection with a flogging at Hooker, Ga., and is serving a 12-month sentence. He did not resign his office and his wife is serving as acting sheriff.

Governor Praised For New Civil Rights Law

NEW YORK—Enactment of a law placing violations of civil rights in places of public accommodations under the jurisdiction of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination was hailed this week as "an important forward step" by Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In a letter to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, who last week signed the measure, Mr. White said: "This is an important step completely in line with the progressive civil rights legislation which you have sponsored during your administration. Largely due to your efforts, New York State is now well in the vanguard as a model state in civil rights legislation."

The new law expands the jurisdiction of SCAD, which has been limited to discrimination in employment. Under terms of the recently passed statute, complaints of discrimination in service in hotels, restaurants and other places of public accommodation may be filed with SCAD, which is empowered to investigate, intercede, negotiate a settlement, hold public hearings, issue cease and desist orders, and if, necessary, to resort to the courts for enforcement of its orders.

4 Main Steps To Civil Rights Are Outlined

By Gershon Fishbein
Post Reporter

A. Philip Randolph, president of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, last night urged four major steps which he said must be taken to pave the way for effective civil rights legislation. 2-19-52

In an address to the closing session of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Randolph listed these steps as:

1. A formal representation to President Truman that "the terrorism of minorities, especially Negroes in the South, must be stopped and the cowardly assassins apprehended and punished."
2. A Nation-wide message by the President warning the American people about "this crisis in civil rights and what it is doing to destroy the confidence and faith in the world leadership of the United States."
3. Establishment of a national commission on civil rights "to provide the basis of legislation and social and educational action on national, state and local levels."
4. Major speeches by all Presidential aspirants clearly stating their position on civil rights and the "filibuster veto upon civil rights legislation."

Carey Issues Warning

Earlier, some 900 delegates to the conference, which is sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with the cooperation of some 50 organizations, heard a warning from James B. Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer, that nominating conventions of both political parties "must be as responsible to the needs of the American people as we are."

Speaking in the Senate caucus room, Carey, who was a member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, said the group's 1947 report was "received with acclaim by everyone except two minority groups."

"On the one hand," he said, "were the white supremacists and friends of slavery who belong to the extreme right. On the other hand were the Com-

munists who favor their own type of slavery."

Seek Support in Congress

After Carey's speech, the delegates dispersed to hold briefing sessions with their individual Senators and Congressmen. Their objective was support for revision of Senate cloture rules to prevent filibusters against civil rights legislation.

The delegates met at All Soul's Unitarian Church, 16th and Harvard sts. nw., in the afternoon to report on their Capitol Hill meetings. Few indicated they had changed the minds of their Senators.

One incident was reported to the convention by Francis Shane, secretary of the CIO Steelworkers' Committee on Civil Rights and a member of the Pennsylvania delegation to the convention.

He said he and other members of the delegation were treated discourteously by a House Office Building elevator operator after visiting Rep. Harmer Denny, jr. (R-Pa.). The conference agreed to report the incident to the superintendent of the building and to refer the case to the District Bar Association.

A. Emmanuel Ridgell, superintendent of House Office buildings, said he hadn't heard of the incident.

It was also learned that several left-wing organizations were rebuffed in their efforts to participate in the conference. Walter White, executive secretary of NAACP, identified one of the groups as the Civil Rights Congress, which is listed as a subversive organization by the Attorney General.

How About a Little Common Sense

There is a lot of enthusiasm in his own and in other Southern states for Senator Russell's campaign for the presidency. He is the rallying figure for protest against the President and the civil rights bills, particularly the FEPC, which would forbid discrimination in employment because of race or creed.

We like Senator Russell and believe he would make an excellent president.

We have a suggestion for the Democratic Party we believe worthy of attention. We do not wish to see the party split. That would be good for the South. It would bankrupt us politically. The South would have to go on as an isolated unit, throwing its weight first to one side and then the other. That's not a healthy political existence.

Also, the Republicans can win outside the South if they pick the right man.

Constitution
The air now is filled with the stress of hyperemotionalism. 3-3-52

It is akin to that of 1860 which set the nation on a course of violence and blood-letting. In 1952 it can set us off into bitterness, division and violence within regions. Not war, but social violence. P. 4

One thing wrong now was evident in 1860. There had been a rapid and raggedly uneven rate of social growth and protest growing out of slavery and the expanding West. We had a supercharged atmosphere and confusion because we had a growing state. P. 4

Today we have the same sort of confusion because we are still a growing state. We have new stresses because the world has shrunk and what happens in Germany or Russia or Asia today may cause some disaster to hit our shores tomorrow. We are a part of the world and cannot be isolated even if we so wish. Only thoughtless persons would say "isolationism is patriotism." (Gerald L. K. Smith's crowd is putting out that sort of propaganda. So are the Klan groups. It should not be forgotten the Klan was meeting with the German Bund in New York and New Jersey just before Japan attacked us. They liked Hitler.)

Attorney General
Now, to be perfectly frank, while we'd like to see Senator Russell President, we don't believe he can win it at the convention. He isn't running as a regional man, but he is so stamped.

There is a chance—but a long one—the election can be thrown into the House and he could be elected there.

But, let's get down to cases.

Let us assume he doesn't win the convention nomination.

Let us assume that Mr. Truman is not a candidate.

Is it too much to assume the Democratic Party lacks the good sense to select Senator Russell as its vice-presidential nominee and to close ranks to bring unity to the party and nation?

* * *

Senator Russell is not a reactionary. He is a progressive man, he is not anti-Negro nor antilabor. He has led the Southern filibusters and strategy, but this fight was for political control and was directed chiefly at the FEPC.

What about that?

Sen. Robert Taft is against the FEPC. He has said so plainly and often. He thinks it should be voluntary or by state action and not by federal fiat. That has been our position all along.

Not a single Republican has announced in favor of FEPC.

If the people in this country of liberal persuasion don't have the good sense to see that a compromise which would keep the Democratic Party in power is not worthwhile, then they deserve a Taft.

If the farmers of this country don't see it, then they deserve a Taft who is talking about reorganizing price controls and educating the farmers to better marketing uses. If the city voters, labor and Negro, don't see it, they, too, deserve something else.

Democracy comes as the people are ready for it.

We have made tremendous progress. We must hurry it until we have eliminated all second-class citizenship and given every American a fair chance at the opportunities of America. Federal police and a fiat can't do that. The people have to will it.

* * *

If Senator Russell doesn't receive the nomination, the convention should have the good sense to turn to him for the vice-presidency. He did not, in his statement, close the door to that.

He does not want to bolt the party. He is much more of a progressive and is sounder than most of those loudest in his support. We'd like to see the Democratic Party and its leaders in the larger states, who must decide whether to let emotionalism drift to



Unreel. P. 5 Memphis, Tenn. 2-26-52
SENATORS SPEAK OUT ON CIVIL RIGHTS—Indulged in pleasantries at the Statler Hotel (Wash.) dinner sponsored by the NAACP during the Washington Conference on Civil Rights were (l to r) Walter White, executive secretary NAACP, Senator Herbert H. Lehman (Dem.-N.Y.), Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (Dem.-Minn.), Bernard Trager, advisory board member for the conference, Senator Irving M. Ives (Rep.-N.Y.), and Senator William Benton (Dem.-Conn.) Some 800 delegates heard the four Senators urge that Senate cloture rules be changed so that effective civil rights legislation may be enacted. Thirty-one states were represented at the dinner.

Daily News **Humphrey Asks Showdown With Southern Democrats Supporting Senator Russell**

By MARVIN L. ARROWSMITH
 WASHINGTON (AP)—Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.) said today the next President "inevitably will be a Republican if the Democrats retreat" on the Truman civil rights program.

Calling for a showdown on the issue with Southern Democrats who are backing Sen. Russell of Georgia for the party's presidential nomination, Humphrey declared:

"President Truman was elected in 1948 without the solid electoral vote of the Solid South, and I think a strong civil rights candidate can win this year despite Southern opposition."

"On the other hand, if we people who are for the civil rights program back-track from the 1948 platform, the party will lose such states as New York, Illinois and California—all of which have big electoral votes."

"That means the next President inevitably will be a Republican if

the Democrats retreat on the civil rights issue. To me, it is inconceivable that there would be such a retreat."

Together, the three states Humphrey mentioned have 100 of the 531 electoral college votes, with 266 required to elect. In 1948, Truman lost New York's 47 electoral votes but won Illinois' 28 and California's 25.

Humphrey said in an interview he has high regard for Russell and that the Georgian's candidacy is "an honest, straightforward way of bringing the issue to the front."

He added: "I do think there must be a showdown. The Democratic party cannot be a sectional party if it hopes to win."

Humphrey played a leading role in adoption of the party's civil rights plank at the 1948 convention. Approval of the plank—calling among other things for a fair employment practices commission (FEPC)—widened the North-

South split in the party and cost Truman 39 electoral votes.

Daily News P. 1 **Patterson, CRC Head Goes On Trial Monday, March 10**

WASHINGTON, D. C.—William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, who recently presented a petition to the United Nations in Paris charging U. S. Government with "genocidal killings and persecutions of Negro Americans," will go on trial here on Monday, March 10th, the CRC has announced.

Patterson, who recently returned from a successful series of mass meetings in the South, is facing a possible jail sentence of two years. He is charged with alleged refusal to turn over to the House Lobbying Committee lists of CRC contributors and other records. During his appearance before the committee in August, 1950, Patterson was called a "god-damn black s.o.b." by Congressman Henderson Lanham of Georgia.

See page 1 **LYNCH GOVERNMENT**

The racist insult to 15,000,000 Negro Americans followed Patterson's charge that Georgia had a "lynch government." Lanham also attempted to assault the veteran Negro

civil rights leader. No action against the Georgia Congressman was ever taken by the U. S. House of Representatives.

In April, 1951, a Negro-white jury here refused to bring in a guilty verdict against Patterson, causing Judge Alexander Holtzoff to declare a mistrial. At that time, Holtzoff recommended that the Justice Department drop the indictment and not seek to bring Patterson to trial again.

Yet despite the federal judge's recommendation and the pleas of the seventeen Negro Bishops of the influential AME Church, the Baptist Ministers Conference of Philadelphia and trade union and Negro people's leaders across the country, the Justice Department has ordered a new trial.

The Civil Rights Congress has charged that Patterson is being brought to trial again "because of the historic world offense he helped launch against American government's official genocidal policies against the Negro people."

PRESSURES NOTED UPON CIVIL RIGHTS

Unreel
**World Tensions Plus Election
 'Hysteria' Cited by Speaker
 for Joint Defense Appeal**

Unreel 3-30-52
 A need for greater safeguarding of democratic rights "against the divisive efforts of bigots on both the right and left" because of national and international tensions war anxiety and "the special hysteria of an election year" was emphasized yesterday by Paul H. Sampliner, chairman of the executive committee of the Joint Defense Appeal.

His address was the keynote of the opening of the two-day annual meeting of the appeal's executive committee at the Plaza Hotel. The appeal is the fund-raising arm of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Jacob Blaustein, president of the American Jewish Committee, will be the guest of honor at a dinner at the Pierre Hotel next Thursday night when the appeal starts its campaign for \$5,000,000, of which one-half will be raised in New York.

Mr. Sampliner, who is president of the Independent News Company of New York, said the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League need funds to expand their programs aimed at combating prejudice and discrimination and at safeguarding civil liberties.

He noted that many communities had increased their allocations to the Joint Defense Appeal "in recognition of the crucial need to promote better group relations."

At another session Henry E. Schultz, president of the executive committee of the New York Board of Higher Education and vice chairman of the Anti-Defamation League's Eastern Regional Board, asserted that the Jewish community in America today "finds itself in that vital but dangerous position—the middle ground—and is compelled to defend itself against the extremists of both right and left."

"We are not living in normal times," he went on, "but in an age of mounting international distrust, of group conflicts, of economic, political and social uncertainty. We are faced by equally hard

pressures from the left and right. "But we must necessarily defend the middle ground, because it is the real hope of humanity. I don't think we can get out of that position, and I don't think we should want to. It is a historic mission we have and we cannot avoid it. We cannot live with extremism. We have got to have a humane world to exist."

YOU'RE COMMUNIST IF YOU PROTEST:

How To Fight For Rights Race's Toughest Problem

After American Post, 2-2-51, P.1

By JAMES L. HICKS

NEW YORK—The greatest problem facing colored Americans in 1952 is that of trying to figure out how to stand up and fight for the civil rights which their Federal Government says they are entitled to, without having that same government brand them as Communists or left wing sympathizers as soon as they begin to fight.

This problem to colored people is as real and concrete as the Statute of Liberty, although many compromising colored leaders and the majority of white leaders will flatly deny it. The few who will admit that such a problem exists at all are inclined to minimize it or dismiss it much too lightly.

Thus, in America today, we have colored people complaining that they are denied their basic rights and prevented by their own government from waging an all-out fight to gain them, while American leaders stand up in foreign capitals and say "Our colored people have had a little trouble in America, but they are faring better today than they have ever fared before."

Like Battered Boxer

The whole thing reminds one of the old story of the prizefighter who was getting the daylight beaten out of him by his opponent in a boxing match but who was told by his manager every time he returned to his corner between rounds "Nice going kid, he hasn't laid a glove on you."

By the time the eighth round rolled around the boxer was almost beaten to a pulp. But when he returned to his corner between rounds his manager said again: rounds "Nice going kid, he hasn't laid a glove on you."

According to the story, the dazed boxer, at this point, looked at his manager through his half-closed eyes and said: "Well, lissen, if that guy hasn't laid a glove on me, you'd better check up on that d—n referee because there's only three of us in the ring and **SOME-BODY** is beating the hell out of me every round!"

"Not Hurt" By Jim Crow

In many respects, the average colored American today feels just as that boxer did. The Federal Constitution guarantees him equal civil rights, the officers of the Federal Government tell the world that they are enforcing the Constitution, and the politicians swear that Jim Crow is hardly "laying a glove on him."

But in Mims, Fla., Cicero, Ill., and, yes, in Levittstown, right here in New York City, colored people know, and have known for a long long time, that "somebody is beating hell out of me."

The core of the problem is how to fight back. Or rather how to fight back without having the Federal Government step in on the side of Jim Crow and brand you as a Communist for the way you fight.

How Can You Fight Back

How can you fight back when someone insults you or discriminates against you, or even kills someone dear to you because of your race? Go ahead and answer! Just how can you fight back?

Suppose you are a factory worker or a garment worker in Cleveland, Atlanta, or Birmingham, and you leave the factory where you work one day, go to the lunch counter across the street for a sandwich and the manager refuses to serve you because of your race.

Suppose your union hears of it, cides to help you picket the place. You know what is likely to happen to both you and the people who help you picket? Sure you do!

"Bunch of Communists"

The manager of the lunch counter will simply spread the word around that a bunch of Communists are picketing his place and before you know it your employer is "investigating" you and before you can bat your eyes you are fired as a "trouble maker" or a "bad risk."

You may argue that in the above example you didn't fight back in the right way. You may say "Well I first should have checked to see

if the State has a civil rights law and if so I should have sought to have the law enforced."

Although the Supreme Court has held that there is no violation of law in peaceful picketing, let's explore this other way, too.

Stork Club 'Incident'

Take the case of Muriel Rahn in NYC, where we have one of the strongest civil rights laws in the nation. Muriel and her husband, Dick Campbell, went to the Stork Club long before the Josephine Baker incident.

They took with them a telegram sent them by Sherman Billingsley, inviting them and others, members of a theatrical group, to a party at the Stork Club. But when they arrived, they were turned down at the door. They were refused entrance because they were colored and for no other reasons.

What happened in New York, where we have this strong law? Exactly nothing. Yet Dick and Muriel had a much stronger case than Josephine Baker.

And, then, take the Baker case and the Stork Club and the New York law. Despite the publicity and the obvious discrimination, the City of New York has not yet been able to make Billingsley even define his policy on serving colored people, to say nothing of barring them from his doors.

Campbells Escaped Tag

Dick and Muriel were not smeared as Communists because ger in the latter because the they did not take their fight as far as Miss Baker did. But what happened to Baker? She was smeared from one end of the country to the other as a Commie or fellow traveler. What effect did it have? She was forced to cancel engagements amounting to thousands of dollars.

Lena Horne, Canada Lee and Josh White are just a few of the well known people at whom smears have been aimed because they refused at times to allow themselves to be treated other than the decent Americans they are.

Another Example.

You're a Government clerk at

Fort Meade, Md., and you are qualified to hold a higher position, but the personnel officer flatly tells you you can't get it because the major who heads the section will not have colored people in his section.

'Troublemaker' Label

How're you going to fight? Are you going to protest the rough Civil Service channels? Sure and get branded as a trouble maker and eventually not only lose your job at Meade, but dim your chances of ever getting another Federal job because the tag will follow you wherever you go.

How're you going to fight? Go to the NAACP? In some places in the South they are even trying to brand the NAACP as a Red front. Urban League? The league will not touch anything highly controversial because it is financed mainly by big business and the slightest breath of Red scandal would see many of its "angels" fly away.

This is not to say, however, that the league in its quiet way, does not do great work on the behalf of the colored people.

But the league's very timidity and fear of making someone mad is indicative of the sad state of affairs in which colored people find themselves in fighting for their rights.

Thus even in such a basic thing as asking for the right to work, the colored man's strongest organization in this field has to whisper its request lest it make

someone mad and get branded as "pinkish"

Florida Murders Cited

These are examples of how difficult colored people find it is to fight against what some might consider some less serious discriminations. When it comes down to fighting against actual violence, they are even more helpless.

Take the case of the Mims, Fla. incident. The governor of the State has already asked Walter White, leader of our most aggressive but peaceful organization to leave the state. The governor called White a "trouble maker." In turn, Thurgood Marshall our best legal counsel in civil rights cases has been barred from arguing our position before some courts.

Well, how're you going to fight? The above examples are the accepted American way of fighting to change things. Changes through peaceful means. Yet one finds officials of the Government stepping in to brand or bar those who fight

Don't Try Violence

Any other way to fight? More violent means? Don't try it! Its sudden ruin.

Take the case of Mrs. Amy Mallard, the Southern-born woman whose husband was shot down by a mob simply because he was too prosperous and successful as a salesman. In due time, Mrs. Mallard contacted the NAACP, came to New York, was taken to Washington to meet high Government officials. Funds were raised to track down the killers of her husband.

Time passed and nothing happened. Mrs. Mallard was interested only in one thing. She wanted the killers of her husband brought to justice. More time passed, nothing happened. Mrs. Mallard became impatient. As she became impatient, she became more vocal. As she became more vocal, she called for direct action.

Soon, in her bitterness, she began to tell all who were white that they were as guilty as the mobsters who killed her husband.

"Too Hot" For NAACP

When she began to talk like that she became "too hot" for even the NAACP to handle her case. There were whispers that she was "a red" and soon the NAACP bowed out of the picture.

A few days ago I saw a picture of Mrs. Mallard on a picket line. I recognized two of the people in the picture as bonafide members of a known left wing organization.

And I, like others, concluded that "the Reds have got her." Then my mind flashed back to the day I interviewed Mrs. Mallard in her grief when she first came to New York shortly after her husband was murdered. I recall her saying "through her tears in reference to the Southerners who had killed her husband, "They are worse than "Hitler."

I recalled asking her whom she meant by "Hitler." She said to me, still in tears, "You know Hitler that started the war." Then it suddenly dawned on me: Here was a woman who really didn't know how to pronounce Adolph Hitler's name. Further questioning of her showed me how little she actually knew of world affairs.

Driven To Communism?

Looking at her picture in the left-wing picket line, I thought of how far Mrs. Amy Mallard had really been from Moscow and Leninism and Marxism when she and her husband were happy together on their farm in the South. And I tried to figure what it

was that had brought her into the presence of the company she is now keeping—company which can only serve to ruin her further.

And then I faced it. Here was a good woman who had everything snatched from her in a pure and simple act of downright un-Americanism. Like a good American, she appealed for relief through peaceful means to her Government and through men in the high-

est positions of that government. But the relief was never granted.

Red Promises Empty

In her frustration, anger and despair, she was easy bait for the Communist enemy who will promise anything. I don't know what they promised Mrs. Mallard. I don't know if she has fully accepted their promise. I do know, however, that whatever the promise made to her by the Communists, they cannot and will not be fulfilled.

And I know that Communist Boulevard is a one-way street on which certainly no colored man has any business traveling. But I also know that when last seen Mrs. Mallard was at the crossroads and seemingly heading in that direction.

I asked myself "Why" and I ask you—"How're you going to fight?"

See Rights Fight In Congress' Lap

By CHARLES B. SEIB

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Rep. Javits (R-Lib.) N. Y., said Sunday that recent race disturbances in Florida have convinced him Congress must reach a showdown this year on the explosive Civil Rights issue.

Javits announced he would introduce a sweeping Civil Rights bill when Congress returns Tuesday, including proposals to ban Poll Taxes and prohibit discrimination in employment.

Meanwhile, Senatorial supporters of Civil Rights legislation were reported planning to avoid an election-year showdown on the controversial issue.

A survey of Senators active in the Civil Right fight indicated their attack will be concentrated at the new session of Congress on the preliminary hurdle of amending the Senate's filibuster rule.

Javits said his bill was prompted by bombings of Negro homes and Jewish Synagogues in Florida, including the recent murder of Harry T. Moore, an official of the NAACP and his wife. The Florida incidents have also included anti-Catholic demonstrations.

The New Yorker said he has asked FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to recommend new laws giving Hoover's agents power to take an active part in race cases.

The decision to call off a Senate floor on Civil Rights reportedly stems from the belief of Sen. Humphrey (D) Minn., that it will not be possible to line up sufficient votes to put the measure across this year.

Humphrey is chairman of a Labor Subcommittee which will investigate discrimination in employment as one aspect of the nation's manpower problem.

The Minnesotan, one of the staunchest administration backers of Civil Rights, has declared the Democrats cannot win the 1952 elections if they "go Casper Milquetoast" on the Civil Rights issue.

He and other Civil Rights leaders in the Senate reportedly consider the filibuster issue the best test at present on the chances of putting across a Civil Rights program.

Southern Senators have indicated, however, that they will stage a full-scale filibuster if any attempt is made to change the cloture rule, providing for unlimited debate.

Javits' House Bill would set up a Fair Employment Practices Commission to prohibit discrimination in employment on grounds of race, creed, color or national origin.

It would also eliminate the Poll Tax as a condition for voting in Federal elections, make lynching a Federal crime and cut off Federal funds to colleges which practice segregation.

Patterson Forced To Give Up Papers

NEW YORK — (ANP) — William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, was forced to give up his passport last week as he landed in New York by airplane from London.

Patterson, who in Europe had defied a state department order to forfeit his passport in Europe and return home immediately, had to give up his passport to state department officials as he landed at New York International airport.

About 100 persons greeted him as he arrived.

The cause of Patterson's tiff with the state department was a document charging the United States with genocide against American Negroes. He wanted to present this petition formally before the General Assembly of the United Nations.

He will not be allowed to travel overseas, the state department said, because his travels "would

not be in the best interest of the United States."

In the meantime, Patterson said the taking of his passport was "illegal." He commented:

"The seizure of my passport was without legality and arbitrary. I will fight to recover it and for my rights as an American to a passport."

The CRC leader returned to the United States to face trial for a second time on contempt of congress charges. His first trial ended in a mistrial.

Wm. Patterson's Trial Set Back To March 10

Washington (ANP).—The trial of William L. Patterson, scheduled for hearing in the U. S. Criminal court last Monday has been postponed until March 10.

Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, has been charged with contempt of congress for failure to supply the house lobbying committee with certain records connected with his organization.

Patterson's appearance before the Congressional group made headlines at the time because of a flare-up between him and Rep. Henderson L. Lenham (D. Ga.) acting chairman of the committee.

The flare-up ended with the congressman calling Patterson a black scab.

The first trial held last fall was dismissed and later a second trial was scheduled for this month. In the meantime the CRC executive has visited Europe to promote the theory advanced in his book, "We Charge this Genocide."

Upon his return to the United States he was met by immigration officials who confiscated his passport. It is assumed that the passport was revoked because of his attempt to present his idea on genocide to the United Nations meeting in Paris.

Kefauver Opposed Civil Rights Law

WASHINGTON —(ANP)—Much can be done toward the establishment of better race relations in the South on a voluntary educational basis, thinks Senator Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.), but he does not believe that civil rights can be legislated.

In announcing his candidacy for the Presidential nomination, the Tennessee Democrat stated that he had fought all his life for better relationship among people of all races and peoples.

He thinks that all citizens should have equal economic opportunities but he opposes a compulsory FEPC. He led the floor fight, he said, on a bill to appeal the poll tax, and as a matter of principal, he opposes filibuster.

But, proclaimed the presidential aspirant, if the delegates of the convention develop a civil rights plank in the platform equivalent to the Democratic platform of 1948, he will support it.

Sen. Kefauver announced his intentions to run for President at a press conference held at the Statler hotel last week.

White At Work Preparing 'Bill Of Rights' Speech As Legislature Returns

By WILLIAM H. BURSAN
United Press Staff Writer

Gov.-Elect Hugh White went to work on his inaugural address today as the legislature resumed its sessions and began laying the groundwork for enacting his "Mississippi bill of rights."

The incoming chief executive spent the morning penning the speech in which he is expected, upon assuming office a week from today, to sound a strong plea for States' Rights in politics, economy in government and expanded services—including increased old-age pensions and equal school systems for whites and Negroes—"within the state's ability to pay." It was understood he would take an unequivocal stand against increased taxes.

During the afternoon White was scheduled to confer with legislative leaders at the capitol, discussing plans for implementing the 10-point program which won him the state's highest office for a second time.

Legislative leaders did not anticipate any major action this week. A number of bills, including a series of 13 proposed sweeping modifications of state election and primary laws, were expected to be introduced. One of the measures will call for an early state primary, in June instead of August, and another will seek to restore the soldier absentee ballot law.

Both houses still faced the task of completing their organization for business. Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin, who takes office with White, said over the week-end that he will announce Senate committee assignments today or tomorrow. House Speaker Walter Sillers indicated it might be next week before he completes the list of committee assignments for the lower chamber.

All eyes remained focused on White whose broad, forward-looking program leaves many details still to be announced. Fundamentally, legislative leaders said, his platform has the approval of most lawmakers. The major disagreement is among those solons who feel it does not go far enough, particularly those who advocate increased taxation to finance school improvements and additional welfare benefits.

White, during his campaign, committed himself to expansion of the Balance Agriculture with Industry campaign which he inaugu-

rated when governor before, to provide equal school systems for white and Negro students and to co-operate in enacting the proposed minimum foundation program for education "as the economy of our state permits," to expand rural electrification and telephone development, to increase old-age pensions, welfare benefits and medical and hospital services to the needy, to extend the state's farm-to-market road-building program, to enact stronger laws protecting labor's right to organize and bargain collectively and at the same time protect industry from unwarranted work stoppages, to practice economy and "sound, sensible business principles" in state spending, and to "uphold our belief in states rights and local self-government at the courthouse level."

To that platform White has added firm opposition to increased taxation with the exception of opening new revenue sources to the state's money-starved municipalities. He also had stated himself an advocate of continued prohibition and of repeal of the so-called "black market" tax on illegal liquor sales. However, he said he would not oppose a statewide referendum on the liquor question, if the legislature so votes.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN RENEWS RECOMMENDATION FOR CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 14. —President Truman, in his message on the State of the Union, delivered to a joint session of the Senate and House Wednesday, renewed his recommendation for enactment of civil rights legislation.

The executive branch of the government, the President said, has done what it could to wipe out discrimination in the armed forces, Federal employment and work on government contracts. Legislation, he added, is necessary to provide further advances.

Mr. Truman didn't go into details of his civil rights program, the blue print for which he sent to the Congress three years ago.

The message also contained no reference to the bombings in Miami of Carver Village, a colored housing project, and the bombings and attempted bombings of Jewish synagogues and a Catholic church, climaxed by the bomb murder on Christmas night of Harry T. Moore and the fatal injury of his wife, Harriett, in Mims, Fla., messages concerning which have flooded the White House and the Justice Department.

His civil rights recommendations were covered in two brief paragraphs.

"As we build our strength to defend freedom in the world, we ourselves must extend the benefits

of freedom more widely among all our own people," the President declared.

"We need to take action toward the wider enjoyment of civil rights. Freedom is the birthplace of every American."

"The executive branch has been making real progress toward full equality of treatment and opportunity—in the armed forces, in the civil service and in private firms working for the Government. Further advances require action by the Congress, and I hope that means will be provided to give the members of the Senate and the

House a chance to vote on them."

In retrospect 1951 was a year in which the United States "threw back aggression, added greatly to our military strength, and improved the chances for peace and freedom in many parts of the world," Mr. Truman said. He sees 1952 as a "crucial year in the defense effort of the whole free world."

On the credit side, he listed the action of the United Nations forces in turning back the Chinese Communist invasion as a "powerful deterrent to a third world war," but admitted that "the outcome of the armistice negotiations is still uncertain."

He also listed on the credit side aid to allies in Indo-China and Malaya, treaties with Japan and defense arrangements with Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines, the creation of a real fighting force in Europe, and the bringing of Greece and Turkey into the North Atlantic Treaty.

He pointed out that the free nations have stood together in the United Nations in blocking Communist attempts to tear up the UN charter and criticized Soviet leaders for not accepting the proposal of the United States, Britain and France to reduce and control all armaments under "a fool-proof inspection system."

In the economic field, Mr. Truman reported that 61,000,000 people are employed, wages from incomes and business profits are at high levels, and total production of goods and services has increased 8 per cent over last year.

On the debit side, the President noted Soviet expansion of military production and military power, while in the United States "defense preparations are far from complete." Political tensions and the oil controversy are keeping the Middle East in turmoil, and "in the Far East, the dark threat of Communist imperialism still hangs over many nations."

The threat of war is still very

real, Mr. Truman said, and allies are essential to prevent a Soviet-dominated world from destroying "the life and the ideals we hold dear."

Mr. Truman said the Point IV program (technical assistance and capital investment in underdeveloped countries) is working in India, Iran, Paraguay, Liberia, and other countries around the globe.

The President said he will recommend increases in the armed forces, particularly air power, and expects the rate of production of planes, tanks and other weapons

to be doubled in a year from now.

He said he intends to hold the line on prices "just as tightly as the law allows," and allow only wage increases which are "clearly justified under sound stabilization policies."

The President renewed his recommendations for Federal aid to education, aid to medical education, improvement of the social security laws, repeal of the Taft Hartley labor law, home rule for the District of Columbia, statehood for Hawaii and Alaska, and promised punishment to Federal employees guilty of misconduct.

"In all we do, we should remember who we are and what we stand for," Mr. Truman told the Congress. "We are Americans. Our forefathers had far greater obstacles than we have, and much poorer chances of success. They did not lose heart, or turn aside from their goals."

"In that darkest of all winters in American history, at Valley Forge, George Washington said: 'We must not, in so great a contest expect to meet with nothing but sunshine.' With that spirit, they won their fight for freedom."

"We must have that same faith and vision. In the contest in which we are engaged today, we cannot expect to have fair weather all the way. But it is a contest just as important for this country and for all men as the desperate struggle that George Washington fought through to victory."

"Let us prove, again, that we are not merely sunshine patriots and summer soldiers. Let us go forward, trusting in the God of Peace, to win the goals we seek."

Expect Delegates From 30 States At Rights Meet

WASHINGTON—Delegates from fifty national organizations will be in attendance at the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights here February 17-18, according to the Steering Committee, which met at the Washington Bureau office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People last Friday.

The Conference, spearheaded by the NAACP, will seek a change in the Senate filibuster rule to permit cloture by a majority vote, and will ask for action on civil rights legislation.

The opening public meeting of the Conference will be held Sunday night, February 17, in All Souls Unitarian Church, 16th and Harvard Streets, N. W. State delegations will confer with Congressmen and Senators on February 18.

Credential blanks have been distributed and indications are that the NAACP, labor unions, and church bodies will have the heaviest registration. Jewish organizations, fraternal groups, and civic organizations will bring up the total registration which is expected to cover more than thirty states, representing membership in the millions.

2,500 Cheer Patterson's Return To U. S.

NEW YORK, N. Y. — (SNS) — Twenty-five hundred people cheered William L. Patterson at a "welcome home" rally in New York's Rockland Palace here last Sunday. Patterson, chief of the civil rights congress had had his passport confiscated by U. S. officials as he returned from Paris, landing at the Idlewild Airport.

The non-hearted civil rights head returned to face trial on a contempt of Congress charge growing out of a House committee hearing in which Representative Lanham (D-Ga.) called him a "black s-o-b."

As he landed, word came that his attorney, Vito Marcantonio, had won a trial postponement to March 10. After confiscation of his passport, Patterson cabled UN General Assembly President Padilla Nervo, asking the right to return to Paris to argue for the petition. He compared his case with that of Mi-

chael Scott, who fought for and was granted the right to speak against South Africa's persecution of Negroes.

Last month he walked into the United Nations in Paris with a blistering 240-page document charging genocide by the U. S. government against the American Negro people.

In his "welcome-home" rally here Sunday, he called U. S. government leaders "butchers and murderers." He said:

"There is a difference between love for one's country and for one's government. Hatred of the present American leaders strengthens my love for the United States."

Paul Robeson also spoke at the rally.

New Mexico City Passes Rights Law

ALBUQUERQUE, N. M. — Passage by the City Commission of a strong civil rights ordinance places this New Mexico city in the forefront of local communities combating racial discrimination. The new ordinance, banning racial discrimination in places of public accommodation, is believed to be the first such law passed by a city legislative body. Other civil rights statutes have generally been passed by state legislatures rather than by city councils.

The Albuquerque branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which Hobart L. LaGrone is president, spearheaded the long drive for adoption of this ordinance, which was finally passed on Lincoln's birthday, February 12. The ordinance declares it to be the public policy of the city "to prohibit discrimination in places of accommodation, resort or amusement due to race, color, religion, ancestry or national origin." It provides penalties, including revocation of license, for violation of the law.

Protest Violence In US - CRC Head

NEW YORK—William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, who filed a petition with the United Nations in Paris charging the U. S. Government with genocidal killings and persecution of colored Americans has cabled Dr. Channing Tobias, U. S. UN delegate, demanding:

"You raise your voice" against the bombing of a colored physician's home in Cairo, Ill., as well as other "new acts of genocide against colored people and anti-Semitic attacks in Philadelphia."

The home of the physician, Dr. Urbane F. Bass, 41, was bombed Tuesday night, Jan. 29, because a group of 23 colored school children are scheduled to be transferred into hitherto all-white schools in Cairo.

Three Ku Klux Klan crosses were burned in and near the colored community in Cairo on the previous Sunday night and one on Monday night.

Dr. Tobias has been making speeches in the United Nations in Paris against so-called violations of human rights in Czechoslovakia in connection with the case of William Oatis, an Associated Press reporter, convicted of spying.

Tobias has said nothing about the wave of anti-colored American terror which is sweeping many parts of the United States, North and South.

In his cable, Patterson, veteran progressive civil rights leader, declared:

Text of Patterson's Cable
"The bombing of Dr. Urbane Bass's home in Cairo, repudiation of the NAACP petition asking a parole for Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her sons; the refusal of the U. S. Government to end jim crow school systems in South Carolina and Tennessee;

The determination of Government to legally lynch Paul Washington, an innocent colored youth in Louisiana, on a false charge of rape for which no white man ever gets the death penalty in that State, and

"The new anti-Semitic attacks in Philadelphia—all demand that you raise your voice in the United Nations against genocidal policy of American Government at home."

"Who'll Fight Lynchers?"
Patterson added. "Czechoslovakian law will deal with the Oatis case. But who will deal with American Government's new lynch program?"

In releasing his cable to the press, Patterson pointed out that "Washington, facing death in 30 days on the usual false rape charge, was held incommunicado for eight months, beaten and tortured by New Orleans police, before being brought to a so-called trial."

Should Look Back Home
"Dr. Tobias, who seems so concerned with William Oatis, should turn his attention back home before looking into his neighbor's house. Where is his indignation against the beatings and the false confessions extracted by police from Washington and hundreds of colored victims throughout the U. S. in the last year?"

Patterson went on. "The New York press has just reported from Philadelphia that a gang of young hoodlums wearing Nazi armbands, modeled after the Hitler Youth Movement and giving the Nazi salute, have been bombing Jewish synagogues and beating Jewish children."

"If Dr. Tobias is really concerned with human rights violations, rather than apologizing for the lynchers' Government of the United States, let him speak up about the anti-colored and anti-Semitic terror which has sprung up with the sanction of Government in his own country."

Civil Rights Conference Opens Today

A more liberal Senate cloture rule will be advocated at a two day civil rights conference opening today at the Statler Hotel.

Sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and 51 other organizations, the meetings are expected to attract more than 635 delegates from 31 States and the District.

The conference will seek to revise the present rule, which calls for a constitutional two-thirds vote to end debate, and provide for imposition of cloture by majority vote.

Following a briefing on the cloture rule Sunday afternoon,

Sens. Herbert H. Lehman (D-N. Y.), Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), William Benton (D-Conn.) and Irving M. Ives (R-N. Y.) will speak at a dinner

meeting in the Statler at 7 p. m. Among other speakers at the conference will be Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, who will speak on the domestic and international aspects of the fight for civil rights, and Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, CIO.

Sheriff Gay Out On Bond

DUBLIN, Ga. — (SNS) — Sheriff Carlus Gay of Laurens County, arrested Tuesday by Deputy U. S. Marshal R. L. Fordham, on charges of violating the civil rights of Attorney Thomas H. Johnson, Macon, was released Wednesday under \$1,000 bond.

Sheriff Gay's bond was posted by Dr. E. B. Claxton, a Dublin physician. The sheriff entered no plea and was directed to appear for trial in federal court here on May 19.



RENOWNED LIBERAL—and vigorous fighter for civil rights for minority groups, Walter Reuther, is in the city, arrived yesterday for three days. Reuther is president of the 1,300,000-member United Automobile Workers, CIO, far-famed as the most democratic union. He meets the press today at the Alexandria hotel; will speak Sunday evening at 7 in Hollywood at the Musicians' Hall, leaving Monday for UAW headquarters in Detroit.

President Truman Renews Plea For Enactment Of Civil Rights

Role Of Executive Department Cited

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — President Truman, in his message on the State of the Union, delivered to a joint session of the Senate and House Wednesday, renewed his recommendation for enactment of civil rights legislation.

The Executive Branch of the Government, the President said, has done what it could to wipe out discrimination in the armed forces, Federal employment and work on Government contracts. Legislation, he added, is necessary to provide further advances.

Mr. Truman didn't go into details. In retrospect 1951, was a year in of his civil rights program, the blue which the United States "threw print for which he sent to the Conback aggression, added greatly to our gress three years ago.

The message also contained no chances for peace and freedom in reference to the bombings in Mia-many parts of the world," Mr. mi of Carver Village, a colored hous-Truman said. He sees 1952 as a ing project, and the bombings and "crucial year in the defense effort attempted bombing of Jewish syna- of the whole free world. gogues and a Catholic church, cli- maxed by the bomb murder on Christmas night of Harry T. Moore and the fatal injury of his wife, Harriett, in Mims, Florida. messages concerning which have flooded the White House and the Justice Department.

His civil rights recommendations were covered in two brief paragraphs.

"As we build our strength to defend freedom in the world, we ourselves must extend the benefits of freedom more widely among all our own people," the President declared adding:

"We need to take action toward the wider enjoyment of civil rights. Freedom is the birthplace of every American.

"The Executive Branch has been making real progress toward full equality of treatment and opportunity—in the armed forces, in the civil service, and in private firms working for the Government. Further advances require action by the Congress, and I hope that means will be provided to give the Members of the Senate and the House a chance to vote on them."

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On the debit side, the President noted Soviet expansion of military production and military power, while in the United States "defense preparations are far from complete." Political tensions and the oil controversy are keeping the Middle East in turmoil, and "In the Far East, the dark threat of communist imperialism still hangs over many nations."

The threat of war is still very real, Mr. Truman said, and allies are essential to prevent a Soviet-dominated world from destroying "the life and the ideals we hold dear."

Mr. Truman said the Point IV program (technical assistance and capital investment in underdeveloped countries) is working in India, Iran, Paraguay, Liberia, and other countries around the globe.

The President said he will recommend increases in the armed forces, particularly air power, and expects the rate of production of planes, tanks and other weapons to be doubled in a year from now.

He said he intends to hold the line on prices "just as tightly as the law allows," and allow only wage increases which are "clearly justified under sound stabilization policies."

The President renewed his recommendations for Federal aid to education, aid to medical education, improvement of the social security laws, repeal of the Taft Hartley labor law, home rule for the District of Columbia, statehood for Hawaii and Alaska, and promised punishment to Federal employees guilty of misconduct.

"In all we do, we should remember who we are and what we stand for," Mr. Truman told the Congress. "We are Americans. Our forefathers had far greater obstacles than we have, and much poorer chances of success. They did not lose heart, or turn aside from their goals.

"In that darkest of all winters in American history, at Valley Forge, George Washington said: 'We must not, in so great a contest, expect to meet with nothing but sunshine.' With that spirit, they won their fight for freedom.

"We must have that same faith

and vision. In the contest in which we are engaged today, we cannot expect to have fair weather all the way. But it is a contest just as important for this country and for all men as the desperate struggle that George Washington fought through to victory.

"Let us prove, again, that we are not merely sunshine patriots and summer soldiers. Let us go forward, trusting in the God of Peace, to win the goals we seek."

Truman Talk Disappointing On Civil Rights

WASHINGTON—President Truman's weak statement on civil rights in his annual State of the Union message last week came as a disappointing shock to those who had expected an outspoken declaration in face of the reign of terror in Florida which has claimed the lives of three citizens, the wounding of a fourth and the bombings and attempted bombings of Jewish synagogues, a Negro housing project and a Catholic church.

Addressing the joint session of Congress, the President expressed a hope to see the Senate's present cloture rule amended to

permit action on his long-pending civil rights program which repeatedly has been bogged down by Southern filibusterers who have been aided and abetted by reactionary Republicans.

Moving to deliver his conciliatory statement, the President immediately named six public members to his new committee to help enforce anti-discrimination provisions required to be written into all Government contracts with private firms.

The members Truman selected will represent the public. Named as chairman was Dwight R. G. Palmer, chairman of the board of

the General Cable Corp. Other members are James B. Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer; Dowdal H. Davis, general manager of the Kansas City Call; Irving M. Engel, chairman of the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee; Oliver Hill, attorney, Richmond, Va., and George Meany, secretary-treasurer of AFL.

Willard Townsend, Chicago labor leader had received a bid for membership on the committee, the Defender learned reliably. His name was withdrawn after some complications arose over the appointment, it is understood.

Stassen Tells Of Ideas On Civil Rights

BY ALICE A. DUNNIGAN
WASHINGTON (ANP)—Harold E. Stassen, Republican candidate for President, stated last week that he expects to campaign actively in the South, but refused to state whether he would mention civil rights in his southern speeches.

At a press conference held at the Willard Hotel, Thursday, Stassen, president of the University of Pennsylvania and former governor of Minnesota, said that his heaviest mail and many contributions had come to him from the South.

He is scheduled to deliver a major political speech in the South sometime in February, but would not announce the exact place or the definite date.

When a reporter asked Stassen what he would say in his Southern speeches regarding civil rights, he replied that he did not think it wise to preview his speeches.

After being reminded that he supported an FEPC with enforcement powers in 1948, the presidential aspirant said he still felt the same way about civil rights as he

did then. He told reporters that they might review any of his old speeches and whatever position he took during the last campaign still stands unless otherwise announced.

Pointing out that Sen. Robert Taft had gone into his native state of Minnesota and his new home state of Pennsylvania and appointed Republican National Committee-men there, Stassen announced that he would accept this challenge by entering the Presidential primaries of Minnesota, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Stassen announced that the first of his four addresses would be in Willamantic, Conn., on January 26. The second speech will be based upon "Profit Sharing Plans with Employees Throughout American Business." It will be given on February 7, but the place is still indefinite.

On Feb. 21, at the National Republican club of New York City, Stassen will discuss "An Upright, Honest Administration with High Standards of Integrity and Efficiency."

The fourth, which he considers his most important, will be on "A New American Foreign Policy," delivered from the Statler Hotel ballroom in Washington, Feb. 28. Each of the speeches will be televised.

7-POINT CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM PROPOSED

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Congressman Jacob K. Javits (R-L, N. Y.) announced Monday that he would introduce in this session of Congress an omnibus bill dealing with segregation and discrimination on grounds of race, creed or color in all its forms.

The necessity of such legislation is evident, he said, due to the recent bombings of Negro homes and Jewish synagogues in Florida and the killing of Harry T. Moore and his wife, as well as the anti-Catholic demonstrations in that state.

Javits' proposed seven-point bill proposes:

(1) Fair employment practices to prohibit discrimination in employment opportunities on grounds of race, creed, color or national origin with a Commission to administer it and with adequate enforcement powers.

(2) Elimination of the poll tax as a condition for voting for federal offices.

(3) Anti-lynching laws.

(4) Prohibition of discrimination among tenants or prospective tenants on grounds of race, creed or color in any housing which is erected with the assistance of any federal agency or corporation.

(5) Any institution of higher learning which discriminates against or segregates prospective students on grounds of race, creed or color will be deprived of any federal support.

(6) Elimination of segregation in the armed forces.

(7) Commission to study and report on the observance of civil rights throughout the United States.

Stating that two provisions of this omnibus bill need to be further emphasized, the New York congressman declared.

'Cynical Men' Block Legislation For Civil Rights, Lehman Says

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17—(AP) —Senator Lehman (D-Lib-NY) declared tonight that "cynical men" of both parties in the Senate are blocking congressional action on civil rights legislation.

Lehman, who has urged President Truman to run for another term, said in a speech prepared for a conference on civil rights that the Senate's cloture rule must be changed before any civil rights legislation can be passed.

The conference, originated by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N. A. A. C. P.), attracted representatives of more than 50 church, civic and other organizations.

Announced as the prime target of the conference is a change in the Senate rules to make it easier to shut off filibusters.

Rule 22 P.

At present, under what is known as Rule 22, Senate debate cannot be limited unless 64 of the 96 Senators vote affirmatively for such action. Southern Democrats, operating under this and previous rules, have been able by talking to prevent action on such civil rights legislation as proposed Fair Employment Practices Commission (F. E. P. C.), anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills.

"I must say in all candor that there are men in both parties, including some who pay lip service to civil rights, who are cynically satisfied that Rule 22 should remain on the books and who are pleased, in this way, to keep civil rights as a political issue, without making these rights a legal fact," Lehman said.

"There cynical men, just as much as the Dixiecrats, are blocking civil rights legislation."

Asks Rules Replacement

He did not name any of his colleagues but invited his listeners to "determine who these men are and show them that . . . as far as the country is concerned failure to join wholeheartedly and unreservedly in the effort to replace Rule 22 with a practical and effective cloture rule is to join hands with the Dixiecrats and to deny civil rights."

The Senate rules committee has approved a bill by which two thirds of those present and vot-

ing could limit Senate debate. However, such a change in the rules could not be effected unless 64 Senators voted to end any filibuster that might develop against the move.

Southerners who want to retain Rule 22 as it stands have made it clear they will tie up the Senate's business with a filibuster if any attempt is made to push the rules change to passage.

Lehman said "a small minority of skillful, stubborn and determined men can, under present procedures block the will of the majority."

"We know that if civil rights legislation were brought to a vote tomorrow in either House, the majority would approve that legislation," he said. "But we are prevented, in the Senate, from bringing that legislation to a vote. The Dixiecrats have made it clear that they can and will paralyze the Congress and paralyze the country, if necessary, to block that legislation."

Lehman said a filibuster also is threatened against bill to grant statehood to Alaska and Hawaii.

"We believe that if these measures can be brought to a vote, they will be approved," he said. "But there is grave question whether these bills can be brought to a vote. We are threatened with a filibuster. And we have no rule effectively to break that filibuster if a filibuster does, in fact, develop."

500 Attend Rights Meet

WASHINGTON—Approximately five hundred delegates attended the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights which was held here Sunday and Monday, under the sponsorship of fifty-two national church, labor, civic, fraternal and minority group organizations.

The sessions, which heard speeches from several U. S. Senators, concluded with a dinner meeting at the Statler Hotel.

The conference has been campaigning for the revision of Senate Rule 22 in an effort to enact civil rights bills.

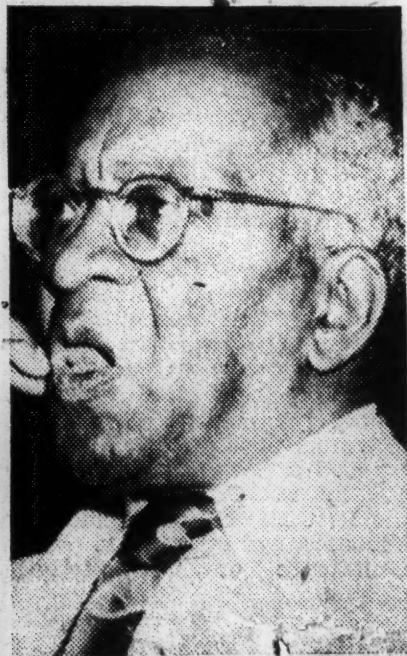
Albuquerque

passes 1st N.M. civil rights law

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U. S. Orders Patterson Back Home



WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

WASHINGTON (ANP) —

The United States Embassy in Paris has been instructed by the Department of State to have William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, to surrender his passport.

Patterson is in Paris reportedly waiting for the United Nations General Assembly to reconvene after holidays, so he might seek a hearing on a statement released on Christmas Eve, in which the United States has been charged with a policy of genocide toward Negroes.

The statement was perhaps based on information contained in Patterson's new book on genocide in the United States.

A spokesman from the State Department admitted that Patterson had been ordered to surrender his passport to prevent further travel in Europe, but it would be made valid for his return to the States.

NO REASON GIVEN

The Department of State would not reveal reasons for invalidating Patterson's passport.

Passports can be issued for use over a period of two years. It was learned that Patterson made this trip to France on a passport which had been obtained at some previous time, but was still valid.

The Department of State would not give definite information whether Patterson will be ordered back to the States immediately, or if he will be permitted to stay in Paris long enough to meet with the General Assembly.

No member of the Civil Rights Congress could be reached in Washington for comment.

Patterson Charges U.S. Stole Passport

By JAMES L. HICKS

NEW YORK, N.Y. — William L. Patterson, Civil Rights Congress leader, charged in a press conference here last Friday that the State Department had stolen his passport away from him in "larceny by trick" and that he will soon seek a writ of mandamus in court to get it back.

Patterson, whose passport was taken away from him by State department authorities at the International Airport here last week as he returned from presenting a genocide petition to the United Nations at Paris, also charged that he had been snubbed at the Paris UN meeting by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, and Dr. Ralph J. Bunche.

He said Mrs. Edith Sampson spoke to him, but stated as she spoke, that "some of these people here are ashamed to be seen talking to you, but I am not."

Charged Crime to U.S.

Patterson went to the UN meeting in Paris to charge the United States with committing the crime of genocide in trying to destroy the colored peoples of America.

Prior to his arrival there, he stated, he had airmailed 125 copies of his controversial book, "We Charge Genocide," to a Paris address and had intended to distribute the books to delegates attending the session.

He charged last Friday, however, that none of the books had been delivered to Paris and broadly hinted that the U.S. Government had confiscated them en route.

He said this seriously hampered the presentation of his case to the UN body, but said he had been able to obtain 50 copies of the book for distribution which he had sent

to Hungary.

Stole His Books, Too

Patterson stated that it was significant that while none of the 125 copies sent by him arrived, all of the books mailed to individuals in small packages from an address other than his own arrived safely.

The CRC leader said the State Department first tried to pick up his passport in Paris. He said he was being interviewed by a reporter in his Paris hotel room when the telephone rang and a voice at the other end of the wire said "This is the State Department. We are picking up your passport."

Patterson said he told the department he would not surrender his passport and then left Paris.

When he arrived in New York, he said, a State Department official at the airport was present to stamp all the passengers' passports as to the date of their entry into the United States.

Passport Snatched

Patterson said, however, when he handed his passport to a State Department official, the official said "You know you will not get this back, don't you?" He said when he protested, he was told to tell what he had to say to State Department officials in Washington.

He first met Dr. Tobias in Paris on the day before his attempt to file his petition with the UN, Patterson said. Dr. Tobias, who is well known to him, passed him without speaking. He later passed within a few feet of Dr. Bunche and Dr. Bunche ignored him also, though he says he and Dr. Bunche have known each other for years.

The next day, however, Patterson said, after he had presented his petition to Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Trygve Lie, Dr. Tobias came over to him and said "Patterson, how could you seek to discredit your own government by filing such a report? Why didn't you charge the Russians with genocide?"

Not Genocide—Mrs. Sampson

Patterson said he told Dr. Tobias that he was not a citizen of Russia, but a citizen of the United States. He said later on Mrs. Sampson met and greeted him and told him that the discriminations and wrongs committed against colored people in America could not be considered genocide.

The CRC leader then cited to reporters the definition of genocide as defined by the UN General Assembly on Dec. 9, 1948.

Patterson said this definition states specifically that genocide is any killing on the basis of race. He said the convention at which the term genocide was defined

was any intent to destroy a group in whole or in part.

It further stated, he said, that genocide, as defined by the convention, is "causing seriously bodily or mental harm to members of the group."

To Continue Fight, He Says

Charging that the lifting of his passport by the State Department will not end his fight to bring the genocide petition before the UN, Patterson said he will attempt to go back to Paris and, failing that, he will file his petition with UN representatives in New York.

He added that two "colored nations of the world," whom he said he could not name at the time, were considering petitioning the UN on their own to have his petition brought before it. He said both these nations are "outside the Iron Curtain."

Patterson said Mrs. Roosevelt had read his book and stated that it was "well documented" and that the UN would be "morally justified" in considering it, but also stated that she did not feel the crimes it pointed up represented genocide.

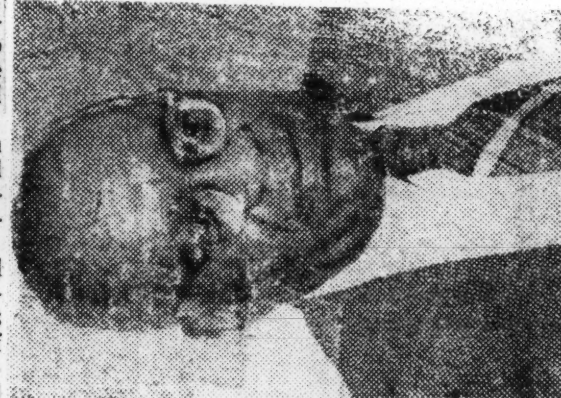
Patterson's petition, which is in the form of a 237-page book called "We Charge Genocide," has quickly become the basis of an international controversy.

The book charges the United States Government with committing the crime of genocide (mass killing) and the major portion of the petition is devoted to a documentation of such killings and other discriminations against colored people.

It is a scarce item on the book market and copies in New York are at a premium. Patterson said the book is now in its third printing and presented copies to the press last Thursday which had been brought up to date so far as the documenting of crimes against colored people are concerned.

The latest copies contain the murder in Florida of Harry T. Moore.

In Paris, Mr. Patterson had presented charges to the UN General Assembly that this country was following a policy of genocide, and mass destruction of American Negroes. The State Department ordered his passport seized, but deferred actual seizure until he returned to his own country.



WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
... his passport seized

State Dept. Agents Act at Airport

Patterson Will Fight Seizure of Passport

NEW YORK — When William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, landed at Idlewild International Airport here last Wednesday, agents of the U. S. State Department were waiting for him. They seized his passport while a welcoming group of some one hundred Patterson sympathizers paraded around with signs bearing the words "Welcome."

Washington on Monday of this week.

Mr. Patterson's immediate reaction was to protest the seizure of his passport, branding the action as "without legal Federal authority." He announced that he "will fight to recover it and for my rights as an American to a passport." He was returning home from Paris to face contempt of Congress charges in

Mr. Patterson says he was taken to a private office immediately after passing customs and immigration inspections and was there subjected to a private examination which lasted for an hour and a half. He claims a "personal search" was made on him.

Hail Genocide Petitioner Against U.S.



William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, who in the welcoming party were filed the petition with the United Nations in Paris charging U.S. Government with violation of the UN Convention on Genocide by oppression and killings of colored Americans, is shown as he was greeted by a group of leaders at New York International Airport on his return to the United States. An hour earlier, the civil rights leader had his passport lifted by State Department agents. Among those in the welcoming party were Paul Robeson, Frances Smith, Mary Lou Thompson Patterson, Mrs. Angie Dickerson, assistant executive secretary of the Congress; Albert Kahn, writer; Doris Mal-lard, daughter of Robert Mal-lard, Georgia lynch victim; Nat-ross, and Beatrice Goodloe of the New York CRC.

U. S. SEIZES PASSPORT OF W. L. PATTERSON

State Department agents seized the passport of William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, as he returned to this country yesterday by plane from London.

As the plane landed at the New York International Airport, Idlewild, Queens, the Government agents followed their instructions to pick up the passport, ordered revoked three weeks ago. When the proceedings ended, about 100 sympathizers greeted Patterson with song and placards reading, "Welcome."

Patterson left the United States on Dec. 10 and a week later presented a petition to the United Nations in Paris charging this country with genocide and the mass destruction of American Negroes.

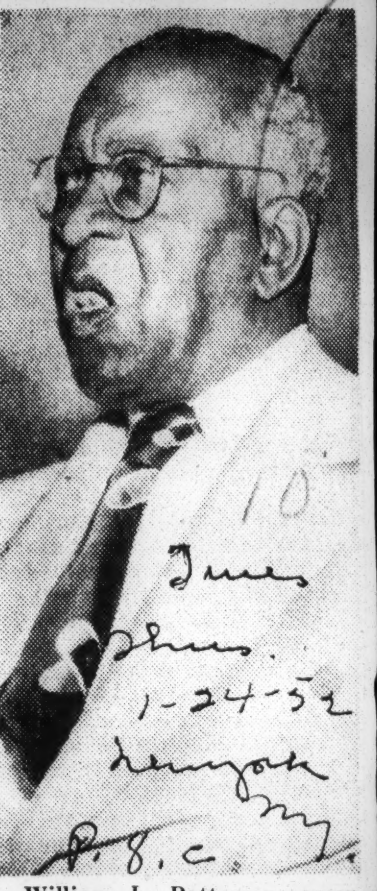
Yesterday he charged that after he had passed Public Healths Customs and immigration inspection he was taken into a private office and subjected to a private examination, including a "personal search," that lasted for an hour and a half.

"The seizure of my passport was without legality and arbitrary," Patterson asserted. "I will fight to recover it and for my rights as an American to a passport."

The State Department said the further travel by Patterson would not be in the "best interest of the United States."

On Monday, Patterson will go on trial in Washington on charges of contempt of Congress for refusing to disclose the names of contributors to the Civil Rights Congress. His first trial ended in a mistrial and he is now free on bail.

HIS PASSPORT SEIZED



William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress.

Associated Press

Contempt Case Against Head Of Civil Rights Body Dismissed

By the United Press

Federal Judge Luther W. Youngdahl threw out of court yesterday the contempt of Congress case against William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress.

Patterson was charged with defying a special House committee investigating lobbying activities after he refused to produce financial records of his organization at two hearings in August, 1950.

The Civil Rights Congress is on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

Youngdahl dismissed the indictment just as Patterson was about to go on trial a second time.

The judge said the indictment was illegal in view of a recent declaration of a special three-judge Federal court that part of the lobbying act is unconstitutional. Patterson's first hearing ended with a hung jury.

It is expected the Government will appeal, perhaps directly to the Supreme Court. The contempt indictment could be revived if the Government succeeded in winning a reversal of yesterday's decision in a higher court. No question of double jeopardy would be involved since Youngdahl acted before the case actually went to trial before a jury.

Sixty spectators, many of whom were unable to jam into the tiny chamber, surrounded Patterson to offer congratulations as he left the courtroom.

Patterson said Youngdahl was compelled by "tremendous pressure to make a decision from the bench." The pressure, he said, came from "millions of communicants" of Negro Methodist and Baptist churches.

Patterson Freed of Contempt Charge Head Acquitted

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, a left-wing organization, was freed last Thursday of charges of contempt of Congress by Judge Luther Youngdahl in District Court here.

Judge Youngdahl threw the case out of court because of the decision of a special three-judge court here earlier in the week, holding several sections of the Federal Lobbying act unconstitutional.

Ironically, the attack against the 1947 act was launched by the National Association of Manufacturers. In its victory on March 18 the association won a permanent injunction preventing the Justice Department from prosecuting it under the act.

Judge Alexander Holtzoff of the District Court, who wrote the decision in which Judge Wilbur K. Miller of the United States Court of Appeals and Judge Henry A. Schweinhaut of the District Court concurred, held that the criminal penalties of the act are unconstitutional because they deprive a convicted person of freedom of speech to petition Congress.

Patterson was charged with refusing to comply with a subpoena ordering him to produce financial records and other data of the Civil Rights Congress before a special House committee investigating lobbying activities in August, 1950. He contended that the Congress is not a lobbying organization.

Judge Youngdahl dismissed the indictment as Patterson was scheduled to go on trial. He held the indictment illegal in view of the decision that certain sections of the lobbying act are invalid because they violate the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment in failing to define the offense with sufficient precision and to set forth an ascertainable standard of guilt. Patterson's first trial ended in a hung jury.

The indictment against Patterson can be revived if the Justice Department should get the Supreme Court to reverse the decision of the three-judge court in the National Manufacturers Association

Civil Rights Congress case and also should get a higher court to reverse the decision of Judge Youngdahl in the contempt case.

No question of double jeopardy is involved inasmuch as Judge Youngdahl threw the case out of court before a jury was even selected.

Washington, D. C. — While a jammed court-room of Negro and white ministers, trade union and people's leaders cheered, William L. Patterson, militant Negro leader of the Civil Rights Congress, was acquitted of "contempt" of Congress charges by Federal Judge Luther Youngdahl here on Thursday afternoon, March 20.

Judge Youngdahl entered the verdict an hour and a half after the beginning of the trial on motions of former Congressman Vito Marcantonio and Ralph Powe, prominent Negro attorney of Washington, D. C.

Patterson's attorneys argued that on the basis of a ruling by a three-judge federal court earlier in the week finding sections of the Federal Lobbying Act unconstitutional, the House Lobbying Committee had no right to ask Patterson for CRC records and membership lists.

After a long argument by U. S. Attorney William Hitz, who contended Patterson should be jailed, Youngdahl granted Patterson's counsel's motion and dismissed the case.

It was during his appearance before the House Lobbying Committee in August, 1950, that Patterson, who has led world campaigns against such anti-Negro frame-ups as Scottsboro, Trenton Six, Martinsville Seven and Willie McGee, was called a "god-damn black s.o.b." by Georgia Congressman Henderson Lanham.

Patterson, as he emerged from the court-room with his attorneys, told reporters: "The voice of millions of progressive Americans, Negro and white, as well as hundreds of millions of peace-defenders and enemies of American racism throughout the world was heard in the courtroom."

Patterson, who recently presented the historic petition to the United Nations General Assembly in Paris charging U. S. Government

with a policy of genocidal killings and persecutions of the Negro people, continued:

"Leaders of the two and a half million-strong Negro National Baptist Convention, the eighteen Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, as well as many NAACP chapters and rank-and-file members, were among the millions

Negro county agents.

Seven more men agents had been added by 1917. The first Negro home demonstration agent in Mississippi was appointed in 1916.

With arrival of the boll weevil, these workers helped many Negro farmers meet the crisis of a changing agriculture.

A marketing association for Negro farmers was organized in Hinds County in 1917, largely through Hubert's efforts. This grew until a railroad provided a spur track and shed for its use.

The first Negro 4-H Club agent in the state was employed in 1918.

The work continued to grow until there are now 36 Negro county agents and seven assistant county agents serving Negro farmers and 4-H Club youths of Mississippi. Both men and women Negro Extension workers of the state total over 100.

"The supervisors and county agents are working closely with the state Extension office and Experiment Stations in building and conducting programs for raising the standards of living among Negroes," Hubert declared.

"Homes are being improved and farmers are using subject matter information for increasing their production per acre through Extension teaching. Many have changed from the old one-crop system, which we had in the beginning, to a balanced program which brings in cash to the families from various sources."

U. S. JUDGE DISMISSES PATTERSON CHARGE

WASHINGTON, March 20 (UP) — Judge Luther W. Youngdahl of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, dismissed today the contempt of Congress case against William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. Patterson was charged with having defied a special House committee investigating lobbying activities after he had refused to produce financial records of his organization at two hearings in August, 1950.

The Civil Rights Congress is on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

Acting on his own initiative, Judge Youngdahl dismissed the indictment against Mr. Patterson just as he was scheduled to go on trial for a second time.

The judge said the indictment was illegal in view of the action of a special three-judge Federal court earlier this week. The tribunal declared part of the lobbying act unconstitutional.

Mr. Patterson's first hearing last April ended with a hung jury when three jurors held out for a verdict of acquittal.

It is expected that the Government will appeal Judge Youngdahl's action, perhaps directly to the Supreme Court. The contempt indictment against Mr. Patterson could be revived if the Government succeeded in winning a reversal of today's decision in a higher court.

Mr. Patterson said Judge Youngdahl was compelled by "tremendous pressure" to make a decision from the bench. The pressure, he said, came from "millions of communicants" of Negro Methodist and Baptist churches.

Civil Rights Leader Freed Of Contempt

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the left wing Civil Rights Congress last week was freed of contempt of congress charges in connection with a hearing in 1950 of the house lobby investigating committee.

Patterson had been charged with contempt because he refused to submit to the committee the financial records of the CRC as it had

by registration act are unconstitutional. Recently, Patterson has been in the news because of his book, "This Is Genocide," which he is seeking to have heard and considered in the United Nations. In it, he accuses the United States of committing genocide against the Negro people.

Federal Judge Luther W. Youngdahl of the U.S. District court dismissed the charges against Patterson, Thursday. He said his decision was based on recent action taken by a three-judge federal tribunal which held that most of the criminal provisions of the lob-

demanding the progress of this hearing, Rep. Henderson Lanham of Georgia reportedly called Patterson a "black s.o.b." This remark reportedly came after Patterson accused the state of Georgia of lynching and showing extreme bias

Patterson Strikes Back At Democracy In U. S.

BY JAMES B. LAFOURCHE
NEW ORLEANS — (ANP) — In his usually virtriotic manner William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, told a group which had gathered to hear him at Hayes Chicken Shack last Sunday, that he "hates this government because it is defiling everything that is decent."

Patterson, who must face trial this week on a charge of contempt for Congress, said that "this government does not intend to give Negroes democracy in America."

The Dapper Dan crusader, before launching his blistering attack on the operation of politics in America, paid a tribute to Roosevelt Ward, secretary of the Labor Youth League and who, faces trial here March 12 in federal court on a charge of draft evasion. Patterson said that Ward is the idol of youths not only in America, but throughout the world.

Patterson said what this government needs is a change, but, he added, "it will not of itself change."

He charged that America was guilty of genocide as concerns the Negro, and supported his contention by quoting the definition created by the General Assembly of the United Nations at Paris: "Any attempt to bring physical harm to a people is genocide."

Patterson said that the state department had called on Walter White to condemn his recent publication "Genocide," but that the NAACP secretary found it to be "95 percent correct."

"America cannot carry out her obligations under the charter of the United Nations signed at San Francisco in June of 1945," said Patterson. "Crimes of the worst kind of imaginable have been perpetrated upon Negroes for more than 80 years by a force stronger than the government. We must get rid of either the force, or the government which makes possible the force."

On the same day, Patterson averred, that Americans were signing their names to the UN charter, approximately 17 Negroes met death at the hands of whites in a most violent manner, including lynching and the rape of a Negro woman.

Patterson charged that America is "a government of crime, a government of lynching with the determination to arrest Negroes for the purpose of terrorizing them."

Race Bias Violence Gains, 3 Groups Say

THREE NATIONAL organizations which make civil rights their business reported last week that there was a marked increase last year in violence caused by racial and religious bias.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Jewish Congress, in their fourth annual joint report on civil rights, said that there was a steady increase in 1951 of "violence designed to maintain intergroup hostility."

And the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith found that violence springing from racial and religious bias was worse last year than at anytime since 1941.

"Too many in positions of power and authority refuse to recognize—or fear the implications of the recognition—that our ability to inspire the friendship of millions throughout the world is inseparably linked to our capacity to demonstrate unceasing progress in human relations," said Dr. David W. Petegorsky, AJC executive director, and Walter White, NAACP executive secretary.

The report cited as examples of racial and religious violence riots in Cicero, Ill., the bombings, killings and vandalism in Florida, and police brutality and slayings in New York, Birmingham and other cities.

The survey found several reasons for the lack of civil rights progress.

It said "some in positions of influence and leadership felt sincerely that to press controversial issues of a domestic character would jeopardize the achievement of unity on international policy."

Many other persons "traditionally hostile to the extension of full equality seized that argument as a pretext for evading decisions on vital issues" in the area of civil rights, it stated.

The survey found "excesses in

many loyalty investigations and the unreasonable character of gress, governorships and state legislation . . . have intensified the tendency to identify support of unpopular or controversial issues with subversion."

The failure to enact civil rights legislation was attributed to the defeat of many supporters of anti-discrimination bills in the 1950 elections for the Congress, governorships and state legislatures, and to changes in the personnel of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The survey noted "the Court has evaded or rejected many opportunities to give new and deepened vitality to the constitutional requirements of equal protection of the laws."

The Anti-Defamation League report, prepared by Benjamin Epstein, director, and Arnold Forster, chief counsel, warned that injection of racial and religious issues may make the 1952 presidential campaign the dirtiest since the 1928 Smith-Hoover contest.

Truman Renews Demand For Federal Civil Rights

WASHINGTON, June 13 (AP)—President Truman called anew today for a civil rights program backed by "the full force and power of the federal government," and took what seemed to be a thinly veiled dig at Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Truman said that experience has proved to be nonsense a contention by "some of our greatest generals" that white and Negro troops could not be fully integrated in the armed forces.

Four years ago, in testimony to a Senate committee, Eisenhower said he favored organizing Negroes in units of no larger than platoon size—40 to 50 men.

Eisenhower, however, spoke out then against complete segregation in the Army, and he said yesterday that after the war he had fought for integration of Negroes, but that the general staff didn't pay much attention.

Speaks At Negro University

In an address to a graduation day audience at Howard University, a Negro institution, Truman spoke out vigorously against those in both parties who favor either reliance on persuasion or on the states, rather than federal legislation, to combat racial problems.

"I am not one of those who feel that we can leave these matters up to the states alone, or that we can rely solely on the efforts of men of good will," he said.

His call for all-out federal legislation was at variance with the stands of many of the presidential aspirants in both parties. Of those who have substantial numbers of delegate votes, only Democrat W. Averell Harriman has come out strongly for Truman's civil rights program.

Scores States' Rights

Scorning the leave-it-to-the-states approach, Truman declared:

"Our federal government must live up to the ideals professed in our Declaration of Independence and the duties imposed upon it by our Constitution."

"The full force and power of the federal government must stand behind the protection of rights guaranteed by our federal Constitution."

Once again, the President called on Congress to enact the full civil rights program he set forth in 1948 — including a fair employment practices commission with power to crack down on discrimination in the hiring and firing of Negroes and other minorities.

1948 Issue Raised

This was the issue that sparked a Southern revolt against administration Democrats in the 1948 national convention and election.

The President said he will continue to fight "in office and out" for his controversial program.

As for complete abolition of segregation, Eisenhower testified before a Senate committee on universal military training on April 3, 1948:

"In general, the Negro is less well educated than his brother citizen who is White, and if you make a complete amalgamation, what you are going to have is, in every company the Negro is going to be relegated to the minor jobs, and he is never going to get his promotion to such grades as technical sergeant, master sergeant, and so on, because the competition is too tough."

Ike's Plan Outlined

"If, on the other hand, he is in smaller units of his own, he can go up to that rate, and I believe he is entitled to the chance to show his wares."

In New York yesterday, Eisenhower said that after the war he fought for integration of them (Negroes) in the Army. "But as you probably know," he continued, "the general staff doesn't pay much attention to an A-1 chief."

Truman, discussing the blending of white and Negro soldiers in the Army now, noted with approval that "in the Far East, when Gen. Ridgway took command, he ordered the progressive integration of all troops in his command."

Only recently, he said, a similar order was issued by the U. S. command in Europe at the direction of Secretary of the Army Pace.

From Abe To Ike

Says Civil Rights Fight Got Started Under GOP

EDITOR'S NOTE: With a Republican administration ready to move into Washington for the first time in 20 years, it is appropriate that Americans be briefed on the history of the Grand Old Party. In this two-part article, Julius J. Adams traces the role of the Republican party in the important area of civil rights. Mr. Adams is executive editor of the New York Age and member of the executive committee of the Republican State Committee of New York.

By JULIUS J. ADAMS

First Installment

The emphasis that has been given to questions of civil rights in recent years has led many to believe it all started with the New Deal and that the Negro's struggle for equal opportunity began sometime after Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated President of the United States on March 4, 1933.

Also, there are many citizens who naively believe the Negro never achieved any recognition in this country before the Democrats assumed power in the national government 20 years ago.

This does not square with the known facts.

The story of the Negro's progress began in the late 1850's with the organization of the Republican party around the issue of slavery.

The first bold stroke took place, however, in 1861 when President Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican chief executive, issued the Emancipation Proclamation which released over 4 million Negroes from chattel slavery. This, though, was just the beginning.

Three years after the Emancipation Proclamation, a Republican-controlled Congress passed the 13th Amendment, constitutionally freeing the Negro. In 1865, the 14th Amendment was passed, giving Negroes American citizenship; and in 1866, the Republican Congress passed the 15th Amendment, extending the right to vote to Negroes.

NEGROES WIN RECOGNITION

To be free, to be a citizen, and

mere gratitude to Lincoln which held the Negro to the Republican party, but rather it was the liberal, forward-looking program geared to provide for the welfare of all the American people which has characterized the Republican party.

REFORMS NOT RETALIATORY

The early social reforms effected by the Republican party were neither retaliatory acts against the South nor mere political expediences.

For, immediately after the Civil War ended, the Republican party launched its crusade for integration by appointing Negroes to significant government positions.

It is important to realize that this policy did not end with the Reconstruction period; instead, it gathered momentum rapidly, and continued down to the present with the Republican party usually being the first to place Negroes in high public posts.

Let's look at the records:

Solomon James Johnson of Ohio became the first Negro appointed to an important government position when, in 1867, he received a clerkship in the Treasury department.

Subsequently, Frederick Douglass was appointed marshal of the District of Columbia by President Ulysses S. Grant, and was reappointed by Republican James A. Garfield. At the time of the reappointment the President discussed with Mr. Douglass the question of appointments for Negroes.

During these talks, President Garfield assured Mr. Douglass of his interest to place capable colored men in the higher levels of the diplomatic service.

When Vice-President Chester A. Arthur became president, he appointed Mr. Douglass recorder of the deeds of the District of Co-

lumbia. It was the first time a Negro had held his post. Mr. Douglass was later appointed minister to Haiti by another Republican, President Benjamin Harrison.

During the second Grant campaign, the New York State Republican party made Mr. Douglass a presidential elector; and when the electoral college met in Albany, Mr. Douglass was commissioned to carry the New York State vote to Washington, D. C.

Thus, Frederick Douglass, a Republican, was the first Negro to become a presidential elector.

PROPOSED FOR VICE PRESIDENT

Blanch K. Bruce, a United States Senator from Louisiana, was twice proposed for vice-president of the United States by the Republican party.

In 1880, he was proposed as the running mate of James A. Garfield and received eight votes. Again, in 1888, with Benjamin Harrison as the presidential candidate, Mr. Bruce received 11 votes.

While Mr. Bruce never received enough votes to effect his nomination, it is significant that he was considered for the second highest office in the nation — and considered for that office by the Republican party.

When President Garfield, in keeping with the Republican policy of recognizing Negroes for high public office, named Mr. Bruce register of the treasury, a precedent was set. Later Mr. Bruce refused an appointment as assistant postmaster general, an action which may have seriously affected the political position of Negroes in America. Had he accepted that position, the outlook might be even brighter today.

James C. Napier of Nashville, Tenn., was the first Negro appointed to a first-class clerkship in the bureau of the sixth auditor.

Judson C. Lyons of Georgia, and William T. Vernon, also Republican appointees, served as registers of the treasury.

John R. Lynch, after serving six terms as congressman from Mississippi, was appointed by President Benjamin A. Harrison as fourth auditor of the Treasury department for the Navy.

In 1888 Mr. Lynch was temporary chairman of the Republican

national convention, and delivered the keynote address.

During the convention, he also helped write the Republican party's platform.

President William B. McKinley, in carrying out the party's tradition, appointed Robert Small collector of ports of Beaufort, S. C., and also appointed Walter L. Cohen of Louisiana, to the United States Land office.

Mr. Cohen was subsequently comptroller of customs at New Orleans.

What is the broader social significance of appointing Negroes to positions of importance? The answer to this question will be given next week when Mr. Adams completes this historical feature.